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WOMEN'S ACCESS TO EMPLOYMENT AND ENTREPRENEURSHIP

Report by the ECE secretariat and the
International Labour Organization (ILO)

CONTENTS

		Paragraphs
	Introduction	1-8
I.	Women's access to employment: trends in labour force participation	9-23
II.	Gender differences in unemployment	24-30
III.	Women's employment and flexible and atypical employment	31-41
IV.	Women and access to entrepreneurship	42-48
V.	Distribution of women workers by sector, industry and occupation: trends in industrial and occupational segregation	49-64
VI.	The male-female earnings gap	65-73
VII.	Labour related poverty and women	74-76
	Directions for Action	

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INTRODUCTION

1. The prediction at the time of the 1985 Nairobi World Conference on Women was that new patterns of economic participation would emerge among the younger generation of women. 1/ Fertility would have a much weaker effect on participation, with much of the increased activity of women coming from precisely those women with responsibilities for young children. In short, women in many countries would develop participation patterns by age group much closer to those found for men.

2. Much that has happened since Nairobi suggests that this forecast was correct. In the 1980s, women entered the labour market in increasing numbers and many more of them maintained uninterrupted working careers than had their mothers before them. Demographic developments, a rising level of education, increased expectations of the younger generation of women, economic necessity as well as changes in employment patterns and in labour demand have been the main forces behind the high influx of women to the labour market. These factors started to play a role already in the 1960s and 1970s, but in the 1980s their impact was considerably strengthened. In the western countries of the Economic Commission for Europe (ECE) region there has been a steady rise in women's economic activity rates, while men's activity rates declined or held constant. 2/ Dual-earner families have become increasingly common, as have single parent families, while households with full-time home-makers have declined sharply. 3/ Women's involvement in gainful activity has become the socially accepted norm. Any questioning of women's role in paid employment is now regarded as an anachronism.

3. Yet while women's participation patterns in many ECE economies have rapidly converged with those of men, there has been much less evident progress in reducing inequality between men and women in both the employment and the domestic sphere. According to a recent Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) report, these problems may arise because the increasing participation of women has not yet led to a redefinition of the social contract. 4/ The implicit social contract has two components, a gender contract and an employment contract, which "define the current division of family and labour market roles". The report concluded that the current social contract "conflicts with the new reality of men's and women's roles". The gender contract still results in women taking the major responsibility for household tasks and child care. More change has taken place in the employment contract, but where women participate on a more equal basis with men, employment is still organized around a sole breadwinner, continuous employment model. Women are still often forced to choose between children and work, or to cope with the constant need to juggle domestic and work responsibilities.

4. Women's increased involvement in paid work has not yet significantly reduced gender divisions within the employment sphere. Women may participate in increasingly equal numbers with men, but they still do so in segregated labour markets, offering lower pay and lower status to women employees. Women are more likely to be employed in firms where there is no collective regulation and where employers are less likely to respect health and safety regulations, or other legally or collectively regulated employment conditions. Sexual harassment at the workplace may provide yet another obstacle to women's full and equal participation in wage work. Moreover, where women's participation has increased primarily through the growth of part-time work,

the effect has been as much to reinforce differences between men and women both in the labour market and in their domestic roles.

5. Closing the gender gap between men and women thus involves a great deal more than changing the participation behaviour of women. It requires changes in the demand side of the labour market, in the patterns of recruitment and promotion, and in the value and status attached to the jobs that women hold. Women have been active agents in the changing world economy over the past decade but action on the supply side of the labour market is not enough. They have changed their participation patterns, reduced their fertility and have acquired ever-increasing levels of qualifications. Yet these supply-side responses have to be set in the context of changes in structure and form of employment over the past decade. The progressive move away from agriculture and industry towards services has boosted the demand for female employment and sustained the increasing participation rate of women. These trends are, however, also bound up with the moves towards more flexible, precarious and often part-time employment, which have added a further dimension to the system of gender segregation in employment. In some countries, these changes have been compounded by widening patterns of income distribution and increasing uncertainty attached to many employment contracts. Women are integrating not into a static labour market but into an evolving employment system, where the shares of secure full-time and life-long employment opportunities are decreasing. Women are sharing disproportionately not only in the increasing numbers of low paid, part-time and insecure jobs, but also in the expanding unemployment associated with the changing employment system. Evidence of a privileged demand for female labour, such as has been found over at least the past two decades, is not sufficient to secure a trend towards greater equality in employment outcomes.

6. In the ECE economies, where improvements have come about, these have been disproportionately concentrated on the more educated and advantaged women. There is now evidence of much greater diversity in the employment experience of women, both in respect of participation rates and quality of employment. The progress made by women at the top end of the labour market boosts statistics related to the average experience of women while doing little to help those women at the bottom end of the labour market. It is these less advantaged women who are facing increasing risk of poverty. The fragmentation of families and the increase in single parents has resulted in more women, both voluntarily and involuntarily, becoming more dependent upon their own income entitlements, from benefits and from wage income. Yet these changes in women's needs have by no means necessarily led to any improvement in women's actual access to resources.

7. While the changing economy provides an important backcloth to the emerging employment pattern for women in all ECE countries, the changes in the economic, as well as the social and political, context take on an especially critical role in eastern and central Europe. The political, and subsequent economic and social, changes that occurred in the late 1980s and early 1990s have had a profound impact on women, both as workers and as home-makers. Women have had to bear a large share of the burden of the transformation process. Under conditions of falling real incomes and in some countries of severe shortages and chaos that appeared as the old system imploded and the new one was slow to take off, women still had to continue feeding the family, and this meant contributing to the family budget with their wages. At the same time, keeping their jobs became ever more difficult, as female unemployment started

to rise faster than male unemployment in most countries. The majority carried on working in the State sector, in jobs with limited and decreasing prospects as privatization approached. The new employment opportunities created in the private sector, and particularly the opportunities for launching a business and becoming an entrepreneur, have been exploited by men much more than by women.

8. This paper will examine the changes in the employment situation of women which took place in eastern and western countries of the ECE region over the past ten years. The first section will examine the changes in women's labour force participation and in their access to employment. Section II will analyse gender differences in the growth of unemployment and in its duration. Section III will survey the relationship between women's employment and the growth of flexible or atypical employment patterns, with particular reference to part-time and the precarious forms of employment. Section IV will consider women's access to entrepreneurship. The pattern of industrial and occupational distribution and segregation by gender will be examined in Section V. The male-female earnings gap and its recent trends will be analysed in Section VI, while Section VII takes up the issue of labour related poverty for women. Finally we provide some guidelines and directions for action to overcome the problems of persistent gender inequality in employment identified in the text.

I. WOMEN'S ACCESS TO EMPLOYMENT: TRENDS IN LABOUR FORCE PARTICIPATION

9. Women have continued to provide the bulk of all new labour supplies for the ECE region over the last decade. For example, within the European Union, women accounted for 7 out of the 8 million new entrants to employment between 1980 and 1990. 5/ In Canada, women accounted for 76% of the net labour force increase between 1981 and 1991, while in the United States of America they accounted for 60%. This increase in participation by women could be interpreted as related to demographic trends, such as the ageing of the population in the ECE region, making women the main source of new labour supplies. However, the persistence of the increase in female participation, even through periods of recession, suggests that it cannot be primarily explained by shortages of alternative labour supplies. The share of women in the labour force has increased in practically all countries of the region, as illustrated in table 1. Among the very few exceptions were Turkey and Romania. In the Soviet Union, the share of women in the labour force, which had reached a very high level in 1970, declined mainly for demographic reasons, as the male/female ratio in the population, heavily affected by World War II losses, tended to return to normal. Fragmentary data available for the Russian Federation, Ukraine and Belarus indicate that the share of women among workers and employees has not diminished in recent years and that it even had a tendency to increase. The share of women among cooperative farmers, on the other hand, had a general tendency to decline during the 1980 decade. 6/

10. Some of the most spectacular increases in labour-force shares occurred in those countries which entered the 1980s with relatively few women in the labour force. The Netherlands and Spain recorded the largest percentage-point increases in female shares of the total labour force between 1981 and 1992, the Netherlands adding 9.4 percentage points and Spain 7.7. Both countries were amongst the four ECE countries for which we have data with the lowest female labour force shares in 1981. The effect of the strong upward trend in countries without a strong tradition of female participation has been a

convergence across the ECE region in female labour force shares. In all countries except Ireland and Turkey the female share now stands at 36% and above. However, while Ireland shows all likelihood of joining the ECE regional pattern if current growth rates of female employment are maintained, Turkey is experiencing a decrease in female shares, perhaps because employment in agriculture is declining ahead of any major expansion of services in that country.

11. As well as the general compression of differences at the lower end of the distribution of employment shares, Turkey excepted, we also see evidence of more countries approaching equality with men as measured by labour-force share. In 1981 only two countries outside the Eastern bloc had a female labour-force share of 45% or more, but by 1991 six had reached this ratio. East-central European countries still have female labour-force shares at the top of the ECE distribution, but the Nordic countries have now closed the gap. In 1992, the female labour force share found in Sweden was as high as in the Soviet Union in 1989, and higher than in the other east-central European countries. The North American countries have also moved rapidly to female employment shares of 45%, with Portugal, France and the United Kingdom not far behind.

12. In the east-central Europe for which we have information both male and female activity rates declined as a result of the restructuring process. Most Governments of the countries in transition tried to check the growth of unemployment (actual or expected) by inciting older workers, and particularly old-age pensioners, to retire from the labour market. While the general labour force reduction concerned both men and women, in some countries, such as the Czech Republic, there was an obvious gender difference in the behaviour of older and post-retirement workers. An important proportion of older men, whose employment in the State sector came to an end, tended to remain active, for example by launching a business. Older women, on the other hand, once they acquired the right to a pension (typically at 55, but often a few years earlier) were more likely to retire to their home. Many became family helpers in their husband's or children's businesses, where they often worked undeclared.

13. However, if we exclude the older age band, we find that participation rates of active-age women, particularly between the ages of 20 and 49, have remained high in all east-central European countries for which we have information, sometimes as high as those of men. Thus the massive retirement of east-European women from the labour force under the impact of transition changes and of the economic reforms, predicted by some authors, has not taken place and in certain cases the labour force participation of prime-age women has actually increased.

14. Two factors may be regarded as important in maintaining the supply of female labour in the east-central European region at a high level. First, as in other parts of the region, but particularly in the east-central area, declining real incomes have made continuing female labour market participation a necessity for family income. Second, women have developed a strong commitment to wage work which has been reinforced both by social habits and by high levels of education for women in the east.

15. Increasing educational attainment among the female population is strongly implicated in the convergence of female participation rates with men in the

western part of the region. Evidence from the European Union shows that women with higher education have participation rates that are closer to the male average than to the female average in all cases, and in three out of eleven cases actually exceed the average for men (table 2). The effect of education is both to widen differentiation within the female labour force, particularly in European Union countries with relatively low average female participation rates, and at the same time to narrow the range of participation rates found across west European countries, at least for highly educated women. These women have high participation rates both because they are more likely to delay or even forego motherhood, and because they are more likely to have continuous careers even when having children.

16. Much of the change in female labour-force shares outside the east-central region has come about through increases in female participation rates in the prime age ranges, coupled with declines in the participation rates of men of working age. Within the European Union, increased participation of women aged 25 to 49 accounted for the majority of the 7 million more women who entered the labour force between 1980 and 1993. 7/ Much of the scope for further increases in female employment shares lies in these prime age ranges. Some south European countries and Ireland still show huge gaps between male and female participation rates in the 25 to 54 age range - over 55 percentage points in the case of Ireland and 45 in the case of Spain - while in Sweden and Finland the gap has narrowed to only 4 and 6 percentage points respectively (see figure I). In the United States, the gap between male and female participation rates in the 25-54 age-group has narrowed down to 18 percentage points, diminishing by 13 percentage points between 1979 and 1991. This decrease was high and was exceeded only in Canada (21 points) in the Netherlands (26 points) and in Spain (20 points). These differences suggest that the potential increases in women's participation in the ECE region may be more unevenly spread than they were over the past three decades. The overall female participation rates show positive trends in all cases, but these net increases reflect, on the one hand, the increasing activity of prime age women and, on the other, the decreasing activity of younger women as a result of their greater involvement in higher education.

17. The result of these twin influences has been a move towards an inverted U or bell shaped participation pattern by age, similar to that found for men, in a range of ECE countries, outside as well as inside the east-central European region (figure II). This inverted U shape is replacing both the bimodal m-shaped pattern associated with women quitting and returning to the labour market after having children, and the left-peak pattern, associated with women curtailing their participation on a permanent basis as they marry or have children. The inverted U pattern consistent with continuous participation is now firmly established in the Nordic and the North American countries as well as in east-central Europe. Other west European countries are moving rapidly towards this model, particularly France and Portugal. The remaining southern countries and Ireland have some way to go before they achieve this pattern, but the behaviour of younger cohorts suggest convergence is still likely. Germany, the Netherlands and the United Kingdom still show some signs of retaining an m-shaped model but the dip in participation rates has shrunk as a higher share of women in these countries do not conform to this model and instead participate continuously or return after short breaks.

18. Differences in women's and men's participation rates are clearly related to women's social role as mothers and wives. However, the overall increase in

participation rates for all women, and particularly for women in the main child-rearing age band, suggests that the relationship between participation and fertility has both modified and weakened. Moreover, the still marked differences in women's participation rates between societies in the ECE region point to the significant role of labour-market institutions, employment structures and systems of household and family organization, including welfare arrangements, in determining actual participation rates and patterns.

19. Disentangling the changing effect of motherhood on participation from other factors is complex. One of the major ways in which the impact of motherhood on participation has changed is through reductions in the average number of children that women have. Motherhood is still associated with a reduction in participation rates in most countries, at least within the same age band. But mothers have not missed out on the general upward trend in participation rates, and the participation rates of younger mothers in particular may even be higher than the average rate for all women because of the strong increase in participation for the whole of the younger generation of women. For example, in Belgium the participation rate of mothers aged 20 to 59 is greater than the average participation rate for all women aged 20 to 59, with the exception of those mothers with three or more children (see table 3). Nevertheless, countries do vary in the ways in which motherhood affects participation. In some countries, including for example the Scandinavian countries such as Denmark, women with children, including very young children, are as economically active as childless women. At the other extreme there are countries such as Ireland where there is still a marked depressing effect of motherhood on participation which is not alleviated significantly by increases in the age of the youngest child. In between these two extremes there are countries such as France where participation is relatively high for mothers unless the number of children is greater than two. In these cases participation rates fall sharply. In contrast, in for example the United Kingdom participation rates of mothers with young children tend to be low but increase sharply as the children reach school age and beyond. Countries with these participation patterns also often have a high share of mothers returning to part-time work. The United States probably fits somewhere in between these categories. Women do take breaks from employment to have children, but the breaks are shorter than for example in the United Kingdom, and American women are more likely to return to full-time than to part-time work than is the case in the United Kingdom. 8/ These differences in participation patterns also have effects on women's long term labour-market status. In countries where women have more continuous careers or return to full-time work, the impact of motherhood on loss of employment status and income has been found to be less severe. 9/

20. Most countries are moving towards a greater degree of continuity in participation for women over the lifecycle, but some still retain or have developed a tradition of women leaving the labour market for children and then returning. Countries where women have discontinuous employment careers may be more likely to have high shares of women employed in part-time jobs, such as in the Netherlands, United Kingdom and Germany.

21. These trends in women's participation coupled with evidence from different ECE countries of a whole variety of life-cycle participation patterns certainly suggest that women's biological or even social role as mothers does not have an inevitable or predictable effect on participation patterns. The impact of the life-cycle events still takes on major

significance for women's activity in some countries, but in others women are becoming continuous members of the labour force irrespective of their family roles. Problems obviously still remain in how to reconcile work and family lives but in some countries continued participation in employment is not open to question, so that the focus is on changes that need to be made within the employment systems and in the provision of child-care support. In others the option of non-participation, or limited part-time participation, is still on the agenda.

22. Trends towards higher participation of women with responsibility for children have been supported by, although not determined by, policy measures to provide women with the right to maternity leave and/or to provide for child-care assistance through parental leave or child-care facilities. There is no simplistic relationship between the extent of these provisions and women's activity rates. The United States has a very low public provision of child care and has only recently provided a right to maternity and parental leave, and yet women's participation rates are relatively high. However, where such rights have been established on a strong basis within west European countries, notably in the Nordic countries but also for example in France, they have undoubtedly assisted in the development of more continuous and high participation rates. Such a relationship was also evident in the former Eastern bloc countries, although in many cases the public provision tended to follow rather than precede the rise in female participation rates. 10/ A major issue for the transition to market economy in these countries has been whether these policies would remain in place.

23. The conclusion that can be drawn from the information presented above is that there has been a high degree of convergence with respect to female age-related activity patterns in the east and west. The fast rise in participation rates of women of child-bearing and child-rearing ages in the western countries of the ECE region has meant that female participation curves have reached, or have tended to approach, the bell pattern, which has prevailed in eastern Europe since 1970.

II. GENDER DIFFERENCES IN UNEMPLOYMENT

24. Women's increased participation in the labour force has been primarily associated with increasing employment for women, and not with increases in women's measured unemployment. Women's employment increased in the OECD region by 2.3% per annum over the period 1983 to 1990 (2% in the OECD Europe region), compared to a growth rate of the female labour force of 2.0% and 1.9% in the OECD European region. 11/ Moreover, in the early 1990s female employment declined at a much slower rate than that of men. The continued segregation of the labour market by gender has meant that employment change in the male and the female segments have taken on their own relatively independent trends.

25. Given these positive trends in demand for female labour it is perhaps surprising to find a majority of countries in both eastern and western Europe with higher rates of female unemployment to men (see table 4). This is not a new development and indeed over the past 10 years men's unemployment rates have deteriorated relative to women's, even though in most countries women's unemployment rate still exceeds that of men. However, in east-central European countries, it appears that it is women who have suffered most from the emergence of unemployment in these economies since the late 1980s. Only Hungary, Slovenia and lately also Slovakia amongst the east-central countries

have a higher unemployment rate for men than for women. In the Russian Federation and in the other CIS countries, the share of women among the unemployed has reached a particularly high level, estimated at 70-80%. 12/ In Latvia and Lithuania, for which gender-specific data on unemployment are available, women represent 59 and 60% of the total number of unemployed, respectively. 13/ The rapid rise of female unemployment in the CIS, since the change of economic system, has been the result of the suppression of many, particularly white-collar, jobs mostly held by women in administrations and in enterprises, coupled with a tendency of managers to discriminate against women in recruitment, revealed by ILO establishment surveys. 14/

26. In the Western part of the ECE region, five countries stand out as having particularly large gaps between the female and the male unemployment rates, and these are all countries with high rates of youth unemployment (Spain, Italy, Greece, Belgium and France) (table 4). Unemployment concentrated on the young is likely to have a disproportionate effect on women's measured unemployment rates as there is a strong age bias towards younger women in most countries' labour forces. This impact is exacerbated by the even higher rates of unemployment found for young women compared to young men in several countries, but particularly in those where women's unemployment significantly exceeds that of men. This suggests that in some countries young women face considerable problems in obtaining initial access to the labour market. A study of unemployment among women in the European Union in 1989 found that 55% of all Community young unemployed women were seeking their first job, but that the ratios were higher in those countries with particularly high rates of youth unemployment and youth long-term unemployment, especially for women. 15/ Overall the gap between female and male youth unemployment rates has been narrowing in the European Union 16/ but this reflects the increasing problems faced by young men in the European Union in obtaining employment rather than any weakening of the obstacles faced by women.

27. Problems of access to employment for prime age and older women, which are not adequately captured by measured unemployment rates, are also reflected in the lower activity rates recorded for older cohorts. The existence of hidden unemployment among women in the ECE region is demonstrated by the rapid increase in the labour-force participation of women that comes with any major expansion in employment demand. In the east-central European countries the rapid decreases in participation among older women could also be considered a form of hidden unemployment. Although unemployment rates provide an inadequate measure of the extent of female unemployment, we still find a higher unemployment rate for adult women than adult men in almost two-thirds of the countries for which we have data.

28. In some countries women's problems in gaining access to jobs is reflected in high rates of long-term unemployment, both relative to men and as a share of all women unemployed. High rates of long-term unemployment are associated with high overall unemployment rates, and where the share of women in long term unemployment exceeds that of men, so too does the overall unemployment rate for women. By no means all western countries fit this pattern. The differences between countries may reflect both differences in the unemployment benefit system and in women's attachment to the labour market. Where unemployment benefits are limited, as in the United States, long-term unemployment for both men and women is relatively rare, as the system forces the unemployed back into jobs even at very low earnings levels. In countries where the share of women in long-term unemployment is considerably less than

that for unemployed men, it may be that women in these countries are more prone to become discouraged workers and return to economic inactivity or participation in the informal economy.

29. Even if we restrict attention to those women who are included and remain in the unemployment statistics, and ignore the potentially large numbers of discouraged workers, we find evidence that there are large numbers of women who have found it very difficult to re-enter employment after losing a job even over a period where the net demand for women's employment has been rising. This suggests that the employment prospects for different groups of women are by no means equivalent, and in some circumstances it may be easier for those outside the labour force to find employment than those already inside, particularly those in long-term unemployment.

30. These difficulties that women face in escaping from unemployment in western economies are now also being experienced by women in east-central Europe. In the four east-central European countries which publish data on unemployment by duration, long-term unemployment is generally more important for women than for men. The exception is the Czech Republic, where a slightly larger proportion of men have been unemployed for a year or longer (20.5%) than of women (18%). Greater female labour discouragement seems again the most likely explanation of the difference. The high proportion of long-term unemployment in Slovakia, in 1993, both for men (51%) and, especially, for women (60%), deserves to be mentioned, particularly since unemployment started to develop only three years earlier. 17/ The impression given by the data is that many men and especially many women in Slovakia, who lost their job when the reform started and when large-scale retrenchments occurred in industry, never found a new job. Various explanations have been offered for the particular problems faced by women. On the one hand, employers, even in previously female-dominated sectors, appear to be giving preference to men in recruitment, as shown by the ILO industrial establishment surveys. 18/ On the other hand, women's unemployment may be higher, because they are more reluctant to become self-employed, to launch a new business or to leave the declining public sector.

III. WOMEN'S EMPLOYMENT AND FLEXIBLE AND ATYPICAL EMPLOYMENT

31. The increasing share of women in the ECE region labour force has occurred against a background of major change in the structure of employment and in labour market institutions. There are two elements to these changes. One relates to changes in industrial organization, and in particular to the regeneration of the small and medium size enterprise sector, in both western and eastern regions. This issue will be looked at in more detail in section IV, in respect to women's access to entrepreneurship.

32. The second aspect relates more directly to employment and is generally referred to as moves towards greater labour market flexibility. One of the major manifestations of employment flexibility is held to be the growth of atypical and/or precarious employment forms. The main types of such jobs for which data exist include part-time work and temporary jobs, although other employment forms such as homeworking, teleworking, zero hours contracts and self-employed subcontracting also figure in the debate. Women are often disproportionately represented in most but not all forms of atypical employment, self-employment being the main category where men are over-represented.

33. The term "labour-market flexibility" is used to describe changes with both different causes and different outcomes. Some of the growth of atypical employment may be associated with changing composition of employment towards more service sector employment, while in other cases there is more evidence of substitution between standard full-time and atypical employment. Flexible employment may be used to suit employers' needs for cost minimization, or to suit employees' needs to reconcile family and work life. Certainly gender may play an important part in influencing the form of flexible employment; part-time work, for example, is relatively rare in jobs mainly done by men. However employers' motivation for employing part-timers is not primarily to facilitate women's participation but, for example, to reduce labour costs by taking advantage of a freely available labour supply for part-time low-paid work. Women can be recruited into these jobs as a result of the discrimination they experience in both the employment and domestic spheres.

34. The observed relationship between women and flexible employment forms needs further disentanglement. To what extent is the trend to flexible or atypical employment associated with the expansion of female employment in the ECE region? Are flexible or part-time jobs essential to bring about a high participation rate of women, and in particular of mothers? And what are the effects of the increase in atypical employment on the quality of women's employment, and in particular on the degree of gender segregation and gender inequality in the labour market?

35. These issues will be looked at primarily with respect to part-time work. This is the most important form of flexible employment for women, across the region as a whole, although not necessarily for individual countries. Along with homeworking, part-time work is also the most heavily feminized form of atypical work. Women account for between 63 and 89% of all part-time employment in west European and North American countries. 19/ In the east-central European countries for which the data are available, the share of women in part-time employment ranges from 55% in Poland to 69% in the Czech Republic. 20/ Where the male share of part-time work is relatively high, part-time jobs tend to account for a fairly low share of all jobs in the economy (below 10%). The main exceptions to this pattern are the United States and Canada, where 30% or more of part-timers are male but part-time accounts for 16 to 17% of all employment. The explanations for this may lie in the high share of young people employed part-time in North America or in the greater involvement of male labour in low income work in the United States.

36. Table 5 shows that the share of female employment accounted for by part-time work has grown since 1981 in most west European and North American countries. In 11 countries part-time work for women grew even faster than overall employment for women, while in 6 it grew at the same or a slower pace. Of the 6 with stable or declining shares, 3 were Nordic countries with very high shares of part-time work in 1981 (over 45%), suggesting that in these countries part-time work had perhaps reached a peak. Yet the fastest rate of increase in the part-time share occurred in the Netherlands which had already achieved a 45% share in 1981, and had reached 62% by 1992. Thus the 1981 starting point was by no means the only guide to the rate of change over the 1980s. There was little evidence of those countries with low part-time shares in 1981, particularly south European countries, having a relatively high rate of increase in part-time employment. Thus across the western part of the region there is little evidence of any convergence in part-time rates, even

though there is an upward trend in most countries. Nor was growth in part-time systematically related to growth of female labour force share. France and Canada registered similar increases in female labour force shares, amongst the fastest in the region, but while the part-time share rose in France by eight percentage points in Canada it fell by six percentage points.

37. In east-central Europe, part-time work was relatively unimportant under the planned economy system and it has not expanded since the start of the reforms in any important way. It now represents 10% of female employment in the Czech Republic (1993), 12% in Hungary (1993), and 13% in Poland (1994). 21/

38. This diversity of experience strongly suggests that part-time work is not an essential component of the increased female employment in the ECE region in all countries, even though in many countries the pace of change in part-time employment outstripped that in full-time work. Part-time work is also not essential to achieving a high female employment share, as illustrated in Figure 3. Despite the high share of part-time in the Netherlands, the overall female employment share is relatively low at 39% while Finnish women have an overall female employment share of 48%, not far from equality with men, but in this case only 10% of female employment is in part-time work. Portugal, the United States and Canada are other countries with high female employment shares but either low or medium rates of part-time work (14, 25 and 26%, respectively). Nor is part-time work always associated with the achievement of a high participation rate among mothers. The Netherlands has the highest rate of part-time working but a participation rate among mothers well below that for the European Union as a whole (see table 3).

39. While part-time work is not essential for high female employment, a high incidence of part-time work is strongly dependent upon the use of female labour. In some cases, groups such as young people and students of both sexes provide a limited alternative labour-supply, but where part-time work accounts for a high share of total employment, female labour is the main labour-supply source. Workers in part-time jobs often enjoy fewer employment rights and benefits and have in practice fewer opportunities for career development. However, the conditions of employment for part-timers do vary between countries. 22/ For example, in the Netherlands there appears to be little difference between average hourly pay for full and part-time women workers, but in the United Kingdom female part-timers earn on average less than three quarters of female full-timers hourly pay rates. And while the Netherlands has recently included workers on short part-time hours within the minimum wage regulation, the United Kingdom has recently abolished the minimum wage regulation which used to cover precisely those industries where many part-timers are employed. ECE region countries differ not only in the use made of part-time workers, but also, even between countries with a high incidence of part-time work, in the extent to which part-time work is associated with inferior employment conditions. Even taking into account these differences, part-time work still raises problems for women's integration into the wage economy in all countries; it may be regarded as reinforcing differences in men's and women's domestic roles, leading to the development of the so-called "mommy track" even within higher-level occupations. Segregation by atypical or flexible employment can thus add another layer to the gender segregation associated with differences in occupational and industrial distributions.

40. The association of flexibility with part-time work is strongest in the north European countries and in North America. In south European countries, temporary work and informal sector work, particularly homeworking are often more important forms of atypical work for women. Temporary work is particularly important for women in Spain, accounting for 38% of all women in work compared to 29% of men. 23/ The employment of women on temporary contracts reflects again the problems that women seem to face in some south European countries in gaining access to permanent and regular employment. Homeworking is also common in southern countries, particularly in clothing and textile sectors. For example estimates suggests that the female homeworking population in Greece far exceeds the measured formal labour force in textiles and clothing. 24/ This kind of work is even less well regulated than part-time and temporary work and is often subject to very low pay. Even in countries where homework accounts for a relatively low share overall of the female labour force, it may still take on significance for particular groups of women, such as ethnic minority groups, immigrant groups and those concentrated in inner city deprived areas.

41. In east-central European countries the "grey sector" or undeclared work has grown considerably in recent years, after the general work obligation and the law on "parasitism" had been abolished. Quite a few men and women have shifted to the "grey sector", leaving the regular labour force entirely, or more often to take a second job. However, the exact numbers are unknown and the figures sometimes quoted in the press are widely diverging estimates. Nevertheless many women, particularly pensioners and mothers of young children on child-care leave, (who are covered with respect to medical and social insurance) are known to work undeclared in the grey sector. While their earnings escape taxation, their work conditions are often poor and they have no job security or protection of any kind. "Atypical" forms of employment are widespread in the grey sector, namely temporary work, seasonal work, casual work, homework and also part-time work.

IV. WOMEN AND ACCESS TO ENTREPRENEURSHIP

42. Developments over the past decade have demonstrated the central importance of small and medium-sized enterprises both to the economy and to women's employment. Contrary to the predictions of the 1960s, the major employment growth in the private sector has been concentrated in small firms. The increasing privatization of public sector enterprises and services, mainly in the east but also in the west, is also fuelling the growth of small and independent firms. Women are already disproportionately represented in the small firm sector but as informal sector workers and as employees in firms often offering low wages and few employment rights. Where they are under-represented is as entrepreneurs or employers. Women dominate the labour forces of many of the sectors where small firms are particularly important - for example personal services and other manufacturing - and men are only visible in these sectors as owners and entrepreneurs. Women's skills and knowledge are utilized within family firms and enterprises, but often as unpaid family helpers without the power and resources to make business decisions or indeed to set up independent companies.

43. Table 6 reveals that employment as unpaid family workers is indeed a predominantly female employment form, although only significant, according to official statistics, in relatively few countries in the ECE region. Around a quarter of women in employment in Greece are unpaid family workers, while

other countries record shares all below 10%. Over the past decade there has been a decrease in the share of women acting as unpaid family workers, consistent with the increasing recorded involvement of women in paid employment.

44. When we look at data on the self-employed with employees, an approximation to entrepreneurs, a very different picture emerges. Within the European Union over 5% of men in employment are employers, compared to under 2% for women. 25/ This ratio although still extremely small has been rising, indicating that women are more likely than in the past to set up businesses on their own account and thus to obtain direct access to the market. In the European Union between 1983 and 1989 there was only a small upward trend in the share of employers in total female employment, but this disguises the large absolute rise in the number of female employers over the period. 26/ Information from the Netherlands provides some backing for these trends; between 1979 and 1985 the female share of entrepreneurs was estimated to have risen from 10 to 18%, although not all female entrepreneurs are necessarily running companies independently and may be in partnership with their spouse. 27/ In the east-central European countries for which we have data, women also tend to be under-represented among self-employed with employees, except perhaps in Poland where many women own their own farms. In the Czech Republic, women account for 46% of the labour force, but only 22% of entrepreneurs with employees and 29% of the self-employed without employees. These trends are related to men's greater involvement in the expanding, and generally well paying, private sector both as employees as well as self-employed own-account workers and entrepreneurs. 28/ More men than women left the public sector on their own initiative, at the start of the reform, to seek work in the growing private sector. It is difficult to say to what extent this was due to women's lower degree of initiative and to what extent it was due to the gender bias in recruitment of private company managers identified in several ILO surveys. These differences in men's involvement in entrepreneurship may also be associated with increasing male employment in service sectors. For example, in the Czech Republic the growth of male employment in the trade sector, catering, tourist services etc. was linked to the creation of new private businesses, mostly run by and registered in the name of men, with women working as employees or unpaid family helpers.

45. Women are not only under-represented among the self employed with employees but also among own-account self-employed workers, currently without employees but potentially constituting the source of small employers in the future (see table 6). Indeed evidence from the Netherlands suggests that when women set up their own businesses they are even more likely than men to start without any employees (85% compared to 60% of men 29/). This pattern of female under-representation in self-employment, both with and without employees, is found in all ECE countries, whatever the overall share of self-employment in the country concerned, except for Romania. However, with the wide range of rates of self-employment between ECE countries, in many cases the share of women who are self-employed in one country exceeds the share of men in another. These differences are often but not exclusively related to variations in the share of agriculture in the economies. The high share of females in self-employment in Poland (22%) is due to the persistence of an important agricultural sector, which largely consists of individual small farms which, as we have already mentioned are often in fact owned by women. In Poland, 60% of self-employed men and 73% of self-employed women work in agriculture. In non-agricultural activities, the share of self-employment is

14.6% for men and 7.8% for women. 30/ In Romania, there may be a similar link between the size of the agricultural sector and a relatively high female self-employment, although the absence of data only allows speculation.

46. Women's current involvement in the small firm sector of both western and eastern economies can by no means be regarded as satisfactory. Entrepreneurship is an important route to increased access to power and resources in the economy and is thus a route to economic autonomy for women. Within the east-central regions in particular the ownership of new business activities under the process of privatization may have long-term implications for the distribution of income and wealth. Unless women are equally represented in this privatization process they face potential long-term exclusion from the growing business community. Increasing the number of women entrepreneurs would also serve to change existing role models in which women act only as subordinate employees or family helpers. Moreover, self employment and entrepreneurship may be an increasingly important means of escaping from unemployment, especially in the east-central regions, although the danger that increasing the numbers of self-employed may only serve to disguise the level of unemployment must also be recognized. In both the Netherlands and the United Kingdom there is evidence to suggest that women tend to enter self-employment after taking a break to have children, suggesting perhaps that this represents a response to difficulties in regaining access to employment, or at least to employment which provides sufficient flexibility for working mothers. 31/

47. Although there is evidence of some increase in women's involvement as entrepreneurs it is unlikely that the problem of under-representation will disappear without policy intervention. In all countries there is a need to improve women's access to credit. Women have much less direct access to collateral and even in countries with high rates of female participation in the labour market there is still evidence that banks and other financial institutions feel that women need the explicit support of their husbands before credit is granted. 32/ Women may also need access to training in managerial and financial skills and may benefit from the establishment of business networks to facilitate access to markets and to share resources and risks. Training may also be necessary to encourage women to set up businesses in a wider range of areas. Evidence does suggest that women's business activities closely follow the pattern of gender segregation for employees. For example in Spain 72% of female headed small business were in distribution and repairs, hotels and community, social and personal services, with only 9% in manufacturing. 33/ However efforts at diversification may need to go hand in hand with efforts to increase female entrepreneurship in traditional female areas, as it is there that there is most scope for women to utilise their existing skills and knowledge to gain access to entrepreneurship. In all countries women may face psychological as well as financial constraints in entering entrepreneurship, but such barriers are perhaps greatest in the transition economies, particularly in areas where there was very limited private ownership under the previous regime. However, in the Russian Federation women are reported to be making considerable progress in becoming entrepreneurs. The number of female business owners has been growing, in spite of the difficult environment. Clubs of business women have been created, to support the development of female entrepreneurship and to help women whose jobs are threatened or who are unemployed to launch their own business. 34/

48. In both western and eastern parts of the region the pattern of both industrial and employment organization is changing. Women need to be ready to react to such changes to ensure that they do not yet again "miss the boat" and find themselves confined to the most subordinate, insecure and inferior parts of the economy.

V. DISTRIBUTION OF WOMEN WORKERS BY SECTOR, INDUSTRY, AND OCCUPATION: TRENDS IN INDUSTRIAL AND OCCUPATIONAL SEGREGATION

49. One of the main characteristics of the past decade has been the continuing shift of employment from the goods-producing sectors to services. This has affected both men and women, but the service sector has now become a true "female bastion" in most countries (table 7). In western Europe and North America, the share of services in women's employment ranges between 69 and 88%. Even in southern Europe (excluding Turkey) the share of the service sector in women's employment is between 56-74%. Most of the new jobs created in the 1980s were in services and they have largely been filled by women. In many western countries women's employment has become almost synonymous with service-sector employment.

50. In east-central Europe, the share of the service sector in female labour amounts to 33-61%. It has been growing rapidly under the effect of the transition reforms, at least in the four "Visegrad" countries. The highest share of service employment for women can be found in Hungary, Slovakia and the Czech Republic. Romania is the only country of the east-central European region where more women still work in the secondary than in the tertiary sector. As far as the sectoral distribution of the male workforce is concerned, the secondary sector ranks first in all countries of east-central Europe, while the tertiary sector ranks second. The sectoral distribution pattern of male labour now found in east-central Europe is similar to that prevailing in the United States in 1960 and in western Europe around 1970 or 1980. By 1990 the service sector had become the main employer for men as well as for women outside east-central Europe.

51. The agricultural sector, which in western Europe and North America employs a very small percentage of the female workforce - even smaller in almost all cases than the already low percentages of male employment in agriculture recorded in most countries - remains an important employer of women (and men) in southern Europe, particularly in Greece, and in some east-central European countries, namely in Poland and in Romania. The relatively high shares of agricultural employment in most east-central European countries can be expected to decline as transition proceeds. This is likely to increase unemployment in rural areas, particularly among rural women due to their lower geographical mobility.

52. Variations in industrial structure are undoubtedly associated with variations in female employment shares within the ECE region. The Nordic countries, North America and the United Kingdom all tend to have high shares of women both in the labour force and in service sector employment. However, the association is not universal: Portugal has a high female participation rate but a low share of women in service-sector employment while the reverse is true for the Benelux countries.

53. Trends in industrial structure have moved in the same direction, though not at the same pace, in all countries and for both sexes. Service-sector

expansion has provided the engine of growth for female employment but it has also served to reinforce, at least in some areas, patterns of segregation. Even though men have increased their participation in services, male and female employment is differently distributed both horizontally and vertically within the service sector. Segregation in services may have protected women's employment growth in the 1980s but it may yet leave women more exposed to employment loss in subsequent recessions if the next phase of employment restructuring concentrates on reorganization and rationalization of service sector work.

54. The extent of segregation in services varies between countries and is not systematically related to female employment shares. In the Nordic countries women's share of service and distribution sectors tend to be higher than in the United States and men's share of manufacturing employment is also higher (see table 8). The Nordic countries have followed a path towards the full integration of women into the economy based on a high level of industrial segregation, and indeed a high share of women employed in public services. 35/ The route taken to high female employment in the United States has been different, involving a greater degree of industrial integration and less emphasis on employment in public services.

55. In east-central European countries the pattern of industrial distribution of male and female labour has been undergoing a profound transformation since the launching of the economic reforms. 36/ Important shifts of labour have taken place, from the goods-producing sectors to services, and within the service sector to the activities which are typical of a market economy system, namely trade, banking, insurance, business services, etc. The decline in manufacturing employment was faster for women than for men and the share of women in manufacturing decreased in all of the countries for which we have information, with the exception of Romania. 37/

56. In both the western and the eastern parts of the ECE region, the most important factor likely to determine the degree of segregation in the future is not whether women move into male-dominated sectors such as manufacturing, but whether a higher share of men will be located in services. However, a trend towards an apparently more mixed labour force in services may only hide the emergence or reinforcement of a segregated occupational structure, both horizontally and vertically. Thus trends in occupational segregation need to be looked at alongside those in industrial segregation.

57. Gender segregation by occupation remains a strong feature of all west European and North American economies. Estimates of segregation based on indices of segregation, calculated and analysed by different authors and using different definitions, all tend to show a small decrease in segregation over the 1980s 38/, but this small net change is likely to be the result of forces pulling in different directions. Trends over the past decade have tended to break down segregation in some areas but to reinforce it in others. Women have made increasing entry into the higher level professional jobs, a trend that has reduced vertical segregation by gender, but at the same time the share of women's employment concentrated in already feminized occupational areas such as clerical work and service work has increased (table 9). Moreover, there is little evidence of any change in the male dominance of production and related workers. Horizontal segregation at the bottom of the labour market has been retained.

58. There has been some reduction in the exclusion of women from higher level jobs, consistent with the increasingly important role of education in women's changing employment patterns. However this entry of women into higher level jobs has by no means led to equality of outcomes; even in the United States where there is most discussion and indeed evidence of women breaking into male-dominated job areas, research suggests that women still tend to be segregated into the lowest status areas of the professions. 39/ There is also evidence within some parts of the European Union, as well as in some Nordic countries such as Sweden, to suggest that women may be becoming increasingly over-concentrated in the public sector, particularly higher educated women. 40/ This may reflect the importance of education and health-related jobs for women's employment, as well as perhaps better equality-of-opportunity policies in the public sector. Such polices may include fairer recruitment and promotion procedures and/or better maternity rights and flexible employment options.

59. Within the western region of the ECE, there are still notable differences as well as similarities between countries in women's share of different occupational groups (table 9). There is perhaps least variation in production jobs where the share varies between 12 and 25%. The Nordic countries have the highest female shares in professional jobs, above the North American countries, but the opposite is the case for clerical work. Professional jobs remain a more mixed job area with female shares varying from 44 to 64%, while clerical work is rapidly becoming predominantly female in most countries. Only in Greece is the male share still over half, at 51%, compared to the situation in the early 1980s when most southern countries and the Benelux countries had as many men as women employed in clerical work, with Spain having a male share reaching well over 60%. In North America men have almost as low a chance of being employed as clerical workers as women have as being a production worker. In Sweden, however, there has been a marked increase in the male share of clerical work in recent years. Occupational and industrial distributions thus need to be looked at in detail before it is safe to conclude that the United States, with its less segregated industrial structure, has a less segregated labour force in all respects than the Nordic countries.

60. Service work is also a predominantly female area in many western countries, with several countries having female shares in excess of 70%, but the trends in female shares have been towards slight decreases rather then increases, especially in those countries with very high female shares at the beginning of the decade. This suggests that as service-sector work has expanded relative to other low-qualified areas there has been some movement of men into these sectors in countries where they had become highly feminized. More detailed information is needed to establish whether this represents evidence of a reverse process of desegregation, or where the men are employed in different occupations, or are only employed for short periods, for example as students. Sales work remains a more mixed occupation (although women still tend to be over-represented relative to their overall share of employment).

61. These trends in the occupational distributions of men and women suggest that the increased integration of women into the economy is by no means associated with the breakdown of gender segregation, particularly in the lower and intermediate levels of the labour market. More may need to be done to seek equality for women in the jobs they currently do, through implementing the principle of equal pay for work of equal value. This is particularly the case if we consider future trends in the employment structure that are likely to

lead to a further relative decrease in the male-dominated production and manual jobs, so that any integration of occupations may come about more through men moving into female-dominated sectors at the bottom and intermediate end of the labour market.

62. This consideration of occupational segregation is based on very wide occupational groups and thus does not reflect the continuation of vertical segregation by gender within occupational categories found by research carried out at a more detailed level. 41/ Vertical segregation is also a problem in east-central Europe. Such segregation involves differences in status within organizations and different opportunities to set up enterprises. There is, for example, evidence to show that men have been frequently recruited by banking and insurance establishments to fill higher, decision-making posts, by-passing women who had spent a large number of years in the establishment.

63. The findings on the recent trends in employment segregation by gender in east-central European countries (at least those few which publish the necessary statistics at the present moment) confirm some of the conclusions arrived at in studies of west European and North American countries. 42/ Thus the desegregation of male-dominated industries or occupations is often associated with the decline in attractiveness of those job slots. Looking at the patterns in east-central Europe shows that the corollary is also true. Highly "feminized" sectors, when they regain a new interest from the pay and prestige point of view, such as banking in the countries in transition, see the share of male labour increase, and men tend to replace women in decision-making positions.

64. Improvements in women's occupational status should be predicted from the progress that women have already made in achieving equal or even higher educational qualifications compared to their male counterparts throughout the ECE region. However, evidence of continuing gender differences in educational and skill training choices does mean that if equality is to be achieved attention must still be paid to widening the range of educational qualifications taken by women, and to expanding women's access to more diversified vocational training. Yet experiments in increasing training for women in non-traditional job areas are not always successful in leading to long-term desegregation. 43/ Attention may need to be paid to changing the male-dominated culture of occupations and industries and not just to the supply characteristics of potential female recruits if integration through training is to be successful. It may also be important to provide training and retraining opportunities within women's current job areas, to break down patterns of vertical segregation. Consideration must also be given to the value attached to different types of qualifications and jobs in the labour market. Much research, as well apractical exercises in implementing job evaluation systems, has revealed that jobs done by women may not be valued as highly as those done by men, for comparable levels of skills and training requirements. 44/ Women's jobs may already require high levels of skills and commitment, but these characteristics are not recognized in the pay and status hierarchy. In these circumstances valuing diversity may need to be given as much consideration in equality policies as gender desegregation of jobs or qualifications.

VI. THE MALE-FEMALE EARNINGS GAP

65. The gender earnings gap between men and women arises from inequalities in the distribution of men and women across occupational and industrial sectors and from inequality in pay within these divisions. An equally if not more important factor may be the low valuation attached to jobs where women predominate. These three aspects together constitute the different factors that contribute to the gender earnings gap, and each suggests different types of policy actions. The first, the unequal distribution across occupations, points to policies of desegregation, including positive action; the second points to action to ensure equal pay for the same work or a reduction in vertical segregation within occupations; while the third points to the application of the principle of equal pay for work of equal value. If differences in human capital were the main reason for the gender pay gap, then recent improvements in women's qualifications might be expected to be sufficient to close the gap. However, most studies suggest that gender pay differences can at most be only partially explained by human capital differences. 45/ Differences in types of qualifications are often invoked to account for the remaining differences, but this brings the argument back again to the issue of how gender segregation by type of occupation affects the value attached to training orientated towards female-type jobs.

66. Unfortunately no international data exist that allow for analysis of the impact of the pattern of gender segregation in employment on pay differentials. This is because there are no data integrating earnings in manufacturing and services, and as most women are employed in services and men are still highly concentrated in manufacturing, there are severe problems in being able to identify the size and trends in the gender pay gap at the economy level. The public sector, a major employment area for women, is completely absent from these international statistics.

67. Table 10 presents such harmonized data as exist; for manual workers in manufacturing and for non-manual workers in industry and selected service industries. Even these data cannot be directly compared, as the former are based on hourly and the latter on monthly earnings. Non-manual earnings differentials by gender tend to be higher but we do not know to what extent this is due to greater inequalities in pay rates per hour, or differences in hours of work. A further complication is that some countries include and some exclude part-time workers. This considerably distorts comparisons between countries. An urgent need is therefore for an improvement in international comparative statistics on gender pay differentials.

68. Looking at the data within individual sectors we find evidence of a slight improvement in most countries over the decade particularly for non manual workers in industry and in service sectors. The country that has experienced the most marked upward trend over the decade is the United States, which until the 1980s was notable for having high participation of women, strong equal opportunity laws but a wide gender pay gap. The increase in the average ratio from around 60% to 77% 46/ represents the effects of the process of desegregation in the United States economy and the increased educational attainment and more continuous work experience of women in the United States. However, it also reflects the changing nature of the labour market for men as well as for women. The increased dispersion of earnings and growth of low paid jobs in the United States has tended to narrow the gender pay gap through reducing the real earnings of men. One estimate suggests that

the median hourly wage for women rose in real terms by 5.3% between 1979 and 1989, while that for men fell in real terms by 11,3%. The reduction in real wages for men was estimated to account for over 70% of the decrease in the gender pay gap over the period. 47/

69. This raises the issue of whether countries can be deemed to be moving towards greater equality through a process of levelling down wages rather than levelling up. Changes in wage patterns may also be important for explaining the observed widening of the gap in some countries, notably those that had achieved very high female to male ratios in the late 1970s or early 1980s. Changes towards more decentralized wage determination and the ending of inflation indexed wage settlements in countries such as Italy and Denmark may have contributed to the widening gaps. 48/

70. Overall, even on the information available, there is little to suggest that women's improvement in overall employment shares and increased educational and occupational attainment has been fully translated into income gains in west European and North American countries. There is even less evidence to suggest that traditional female job areas have been reevaluated and paid at higher levels.

71. In east-central Europe, the analysis of male-female earnings differentials is made difficult by the lack of statistical data, particularly of sufficient time series that would be comparable in methodology and coverage. One of the key issues, namely the impact of the economic reforms and of transition restructuring on relative female earnings, is thus made more complex.

72. In Hungary, total average monthly earnings of women amounted to 80.8% of total earnings of men in 1992. The earnings gap diminished slightly in comparison with 1990, when total women's earnings represented 78.4% of male earnings. 49/ In the two-year interval considered, relative female earnings increased for manual workers from 70.7% to 72.6% and decreased for non-manual workers from 68.8% to 63.4%. In the Czech Republic, women's overall monthly earnings reached 76.4% of male earnings, in 1991. This represented an increase over the last pre-reform year for which data are available, namely 1988, when female earnings amounted to 70.9% of male earnings. 50/ The conclusion that might be drawn from the percentages just quoted is that the transition process did not widen the male-female earnings gap, on the contrary it reduced it. But the full impact of the reforms will only be evident later and it may well lead to a general widening of wage differentials including those by gender.

73. In the former Soviet Union, data on earnings in a gender break-down were first published in 1989. They revealed that women earned, on average, 70% of men's pay. This confirmed the findings of the first ECE study on the Economic Role of Women in the ECE Region, which established an inverse correlation between the employment share of women in an industry and the relative level of pay in that industry, in all ECE countries, the slope of the regression curve being particularly steep for the USSR. 51/

VII. LABOUR RELATED POVERTY AND WOMEN

74. Labour related poverty has become an area of increasing concern over the past decade particularly in the United States. Such poverty is of especial

concern to women. Women are concentrated in low-paying areas and trends in wage structures and methods of pay determination seem to be increasing rather than decreasing pay equality. Such patterns are likely to worsen the overall gender pay gap, except to the extent that they are offset by women gaining a higher share of high-level jobs. Research in the European Union shows that women account for the majority of low-paid workers 52/ and in the United States 16% of women held jobs at 75% below the poverty line compared to under 10% of men. 53/ Low wages for women are often not regarded as a problem to policy makers as it is assumed that most women have access to other resources through their family and thus can work for low wages without encountering poverty. However, not only do women often have to work long hours at low wages to supplement an inadequate family income, to avoid the whole family falling into poverty, but also many women are increasingly reliant on their own incomes for maintaining households and themselves in old age. Female headed households are more likely to be in poverty than the conventional male headed households, not only because of the time constraints that women face in participating in paid work, but also because of the low incomes that they have access to in the labour market. In the United States the poverty rate among persons in female headed households is close to 40%, almost three times the rate for all persons. 54/

75. Divorce rates are also increasing throughout the ECE region, leaving more women dependent upon their own resources during their working lives and into old age. Many women thus become trapped into poverty, having given up their access to independent wage income to become full-time mothers and home providers. The inequalities in access to resources between the sexes need to be placed into a life-cycle perspective where there is a recognition of women's need for individual and independent rights to resources to protect themselves against economic subordination and poverty.

76. The problems of multiple disadvantage and poverty must also be recognized. Women from disadvantaged racial and ethnic minority groups, often living in poor urban areas face discrimination and disadvantage in the labour market related to their sex, race and location. In addition, they are less likely to have access to resources through their families as their male partners also face discrimination, and in some racial groups these multiple disadvantages have contributed to the more rapid demise of the nuclear family. Thus in the United States black women account for 44% of all female headed households in poverty. 55/ Migrant and refugee women may face particular disadvantages, especially where their status is not legalized or where dependents accompanying a legal migrant or refugee are not given full rights to work or receive benefits. Such social exclusion can be applied also to nationals, for example disabled workers and human immunodeficiency virus (HIV) sufferers, who in some countries may be denied access to employment. A less extreme but also significant form of social or employment exclusion practised against women applies when women are effectively denied the right to participate in wage work because of the impact of means-tested benefits at a household level. 56/ Independent rights for women to participate could provide benefits in the form of a reduction in social exclusion for the unemployed as well as granting women full rights to participate in the employment system.

DIRECTIONS FOR ACTION

1. Ensure for women access to employment that is equal to men's, giving them the same working conditions and the same control over economic resources. This access requires action to ensure access not only to initial employment and training, but also to life-long employment participation, retraining and upgrading of skills. Promote diversity of women's education and training, and the break-down of horizontal and vertical segregation, while at the same time valuing diversity of talents between the sexes. In particular, take positive action to increase women's access to entrepreneurship, by providing guarantee loans, training courses, consultancies, business development centres and other facilities.

2. Actively promote the principle of equal pay for work of equal value, in particular by means of job evaluation procedures. In this context, pay particular attention to occupations with a persistently high concentration of women workers, trying to revalue the unacknowledged skills content of "female" jobs. Promote the development of career paths and opportunities for movement to higher skilled and higher paid work within "female" job areas. Improve social and wage protection for women employed in low-skilled, informal or atypical jobs. Take action to protect and expand women's independent access to income and resources over the life cycle, paying attention not only to direct wage income but also to forms of support for women in old age or sickness.

3. Pay increased attention to the improvement of safety and working conditions of women, as well as of their general standard of health. Take active measures for the elimination of all forms of violence at the workplace.

4. Promote the ratification and enforcement of international labour standards and the reform of national legislation to adapt to changing conditions and to face effectively women's needs, views and interests, while promoting women's awareness of their rights.

5. Create a work environment facilitating women's participation in economic activity. Develop flexible systems that enable workers to make temporary exits from employment, or to modify their working hours, without sacrificing their career development prospects. Integrate flexible employment into the mainstream of employment. Set conditions of employment on the same basis for all employees and promote equitable treatment for those in non-standard employment. Enhance the choice and mobility between non-standard and standard employment.

6. Provide child-care facilities in adequate quantity and quality, particularly for children between the age of three and the compulsory school age. Find effective ways of stopping the suppression of child-care facilities in east-central European countries, resulting from the transition changes, and bring their number to the pre-reform level, while improving their quality. Seek innovative ways of providing essential household and caring services, and adjust the social infrastructure, so as to support women's high labour force participation. The new diversity in family types, including female-headed households, makes this a particular priority. Use the media and other forms of dissemination of information to promote public acceptance of men and women as equal partners sharing family and employment responsibilities. Seek a new balance between work and family life, or a new social contract for men as well

as women. Press for policies which reduce the full-time working week and facilitate the sharing of domestic tasks.

7. Increase the collection and the publication of statistical data in gender-specific break-downs. Define new indicators of women's work and income, making it possible to monitor the gender impact of development trends and of government policies. Pay more attention to women outside the formal labour market, and to the gender implications of labour market policies, particularly those calling for greater flexibility. Expand the statistical coverage of the services sector and develop new methods of assessing productivity and quality within service sector employment. Improve the transparency of the labour market and press for the provision of information at an organizational level as well as a national level on women's pay and employment position.

8. Integrated and comprehensive strategies with a common range of components are necessary to allow for a flexible combination of specific measures.

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Table I. Female labour force as a percentage of total labour force, 1976-1994

Country	1976	1981	1991-94
Austria	39.9	40.8	41.9 (91)
Belgium	35.0	37.7	41.6 (90)
Bulgaria	46.8 (75)	47.7 (85)	..
Canada	37.3	40.5	45.0 (92)
Czechoslovakia (former)	44.6 (70)	46.7 (80)	47.4 (91)
Czech Republic	..	..	46.6 (93 Q4)
Denmark	40.6	44.5	46.5 (91)
Finland	45.5	46.7	46.9 (92)
France	37.1	38.9	43.3 (91)
Germany, Fed. Rep. of	37.6	38.1	41.6 (92)
Greece	30.1	31.9	37.1 (90)
Hungary	41.2 (70)	43.4 (80)	47.5 (94 Q1)
Ireland	27.6	27.8	32.2 (91)
Italy	30.9	33.6	37.1 (91)
Luxembourg	29.0	30.1	36.5 (91)
Netherlands	27.2	30.5	39.7 (91)
Norway	39.2	41.7	45.2 (92)
Poland	46.0 (70)	45.4 (78)	46.3 (94 Q1)
Portugal	38.1	41.5	44.3 (92)
Romania	45.6 (77)	..	44.3 (92)
Slovak Rep.	..	..	46.1 (94 Q1)
Slovenia	..	..	46.7 (92)
Spain	28.2	28.5	36.2 (92)
Sweden	43.0	46.0	48.0 (92)
Switzerland	34.2	35.2	38.3 (92)
Turkey	36.6	33.9	30.9 (92)
United Kingdom	37.7	38.8	43.1 (92)
USSR (former)	50.4 (70)	49.8 (79)	48.3 (89)
United States	39.8	42.3	45.1 (92)

Sources: OECD, Historical Statistics 1960-1981, Paris, 1983; ILO Yearbook of Labour Statistics, 1945-89, 1993, Geneva; national labour force surveys.

Table II. Activity rates of men and women aged 20-59 compared to those of third level educated mothers, 1991

Activity rates of all persons - 20-59 years old

Country	Men	Women
Belgium	84.62	57.70
Denmark	92.00	84.68
France	88.89	68.91
Germany a/	89.79	64.34
Greece	87.60	46.66
Ireland	90.14	49.26
Italy	87.94	51.03
Luxembourg	88.56	50.52
Netherlands	88.70	58.75
Portugal	90.25	67.41
Spain	88.84	46.87
UK	92.57	71.31

Activity rates of level 3 educated persons - 20-59 years old

Country	Men	Women	Level 3 Mothers
Belgium	93.41	82.84	84.73
Denmark	97.25	93.97	94.95
France	..	..	..
Germany a)	96.05	77.66	65.42
Greece	92.16	80.76	79.24
Ireland	94.52	76.21	65.87
Italy	95.99	88.14	88.79
Luxembourg	89.11	73.71	69.17
Netherlands	95.32	79.30	70.31
Portugal	98.11	95.05	95.98
Spain	86.24	76.27	81.63
UK	96.08	84.09	77.44

Source: EUROSTAT, Labour Force Survey, 1991, Luxembourg.

a/ West Germany

Table III. Activity rates for women aged 20-59 by age of youngest child and by number of children, 1991

(per cent)

	All women	Mothers	Number of children			Age of youngest child		
			One	Two	Three or more	Less than 2 years	2 - 7 years	7 - 14 years
Belgium a/, b/	57.7	59.8	71.8	70.4	48.6	67.1	69.5	67.1
Czech Rep. (93 Q4)	81.0	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Denmark a/, b/	84.7	76.8	87.2	89.7	80.3	84.8	88.2	89.3
Finland (92)	85.5	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
France a/, b/	68.9	60.7	78.2	70.2	38.0	61.1	71.9	74.3
Germany a/, b/, c/	64.3	49.3	61.0	47.2	31.2	40.7	51.8	63.0
Greece a/, b/	46.7	41.8	48.7	47.0	37.2	44.3	46.5	48.1
Hungary (90)	67.2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Ireland a/, b/	49.3	29.3	43.0	38.5	28.4	39.2	36.5	34.9
Italy a/, b/	51.0	43.2	53.8	47.0	36.0	50.3	50.4	50.0
Luxembourg a/, b/	50.5	40.8	49.0	38.9	28.5	37.3	42.2	47.5
Netherlands a/, b/	58.6	42.6	54.1	48.3	38.2	41.6	48.6	56.0
Norway	79.1	..	81.0	77.0	..	70.0	75.0	81.0 d/
Poland (94 Q1)	72.8	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Portugal a/, b/	63.5	68.6	74.4	73.6	64.2	72.7	75.8	72.2
Slovenia	73.9	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Spain a/, b/	46.9	32.4	44.0	41.8	34.6	42.4	45.4	40.3
Sweden	90.5	..	..	..	..	- - 83.5 - -		92.0 e/
UK a/, b/	71.3	55.6	67.5	61.8	45.7	46.9	63.1	75.0

Sources: EUROSTAT, Labour Force Survey; ILO, Yearbook of Labour Statistics 1993; Yearbook of Nordic Statistics 1994; national labour force surveys.

a/ Activity rates for mother-related women who are married to the household head or are the household head. Data for other mothers, such as those living with parents, are unavailable.

b/ Activity rates for all women include women who are neither a household head nor a spouse of a household head.

c/ West Germany.

d/ 7-10 years.

e/ 7-16 years.

Table IV. Unemployment rates by sex and age in ECE countries.

Country & Year	Total	Male	Female	Youth 15-24		Adults 25+	
				M	F	M	F
Austria 91	3.5	3.3	3.7	19	17	3	4
Belgium 91	7.0	4.5	10.6	11	17	4	9
Canada 92	11.3	12.0	10.4	20	15	10	9
Croatia 92	15	12	18	..	..	..	..
Czech Rep. 93	3.7	3.0	4.5	7	8	2	4
Denmark 91	9.1	8.3	10.0	11	12	8	9
Finland 92	13.0	15.2	10.5	25	21	13	9
France 92	10.2	8.1	12.8	15	23	7	11
Germany 91 a/	4.1	3.6	4.8	4	4	4	5
Greece 91	7.7	4.8	12.9	17	33	3	8
Hungary 93	11.2	13.2	9.1	23	14	11	8
Ireland 91	15.8	15.4	16.6	25	21	13	15
Italy 91	10.1	6.8	15.8	24	34	4	11
Latvia 92	2	0.9	1.2	..	..	..	..
Netherlands 92	6.7	5.3	8.8	11	9	4	9
Norway 92	5.9	6.5	5.1	11	13	5	4
Poland 92	13.3	11.8	14.9	32	44	9	13
Portugal 92	4.1	3.4	5.0	8	12	2	4
Romania 92	8.4	6.2	10.7	7	15	3	6
Slovakia 94	13.3	13.6	13.0	29	25	10	11
Slovenia 92	11.5	12.1	10.8	..	..	..	..
Spain 92	18.4	14.3	25.6	27	40	11	21
Sweden 92	4.8	5.7	3.8	12	9	5	3
Switzerland 92	3.0	2.8	3.4	..	..	..	..
United Kingdom 91	8.6	9.4	7.4	16	11	8	6
United States 92	7.3	7.6	6.9	14	13	6	6

Sources: ILO Yearbook of Labour Statistics 1993; ILO World Labour Report 1994, Geneva; EUROSTAT, Labour Force Survey, 1991, Luxembourg; national labour force surveys.

a/ West Germany.

Table V. Percentage of part-time employment in total women's employment, 1973-1993.

Country	1973	1981	1991-1993
Austria	16	20	20 (91)
Belgium	8	16	27 (92)
Canada	20 a/	32	26 (92)
Czech Republic	..	..	10 (93)
Denmark	40	44	38 (91)
Finland	7 b/	8	10 (92)
France	11	16	24 (92)
Germany, F.R.of	20	26	34 (91)
Greece	..	4	7 (91)
Hungary	..	..	12 (93)
Ireland	10	15 c/	18 (91)
Italy	9	6	10 (92)
Luxembourg	14	17 c/	18 (91)
Netherlands	16	45	62 (91)
Norway	48	54	47 (92)
Poland	..	..	13 (94)
Portugal	..	16 d/	11 (92)
Spain	..	..	14 (92)
Sweden	39	46	41 (92)
United Kingdom	38	37	45 (92)
United States	25	24	25 (92)

Sources: OECD Employment Outlook, September 1983 and July 1993, Paris; national labour force surveys.

a/ 1975.
b/ 1976.
c/ 1983.
d/ 1979.

Table VI. Percentage distribution of male and female labour force by employment status, 1991-1992

Country	Year	Men					Women				
		Employers and own account workers	of which		Employees	Unpaid family workers	Employers and own account workers	of which		Employees	Unpaid family workers
			with employees	without employees				with employees	without employees		
Austria	1991	11.87	..	..	86.50	1.63	7.85	..	..	85.45	6.70
Belgium	1991	17.82	1.97	15.85	81.57	0.61	10.23	0.43	9.80	84.66	5.11
Canada	1992	10.55	..	..	89.25	0.20	7.18	..	..	92.02	0.80
Czechoslovakia	1991	2.87	..	..	97.12	0.01	0.96	..	..	99.01	0.03
Czech Republic	1993 Q4	12.20	4.00	8.20	87.60	0.20	5.30	1.40	3.90	94.30	0.40
Denmark	1991	13.94	6.90	7.04	85.99	0.07	3.30	1.32	1.98	92.91	3.79
Finland	1992	16.72	..	..	82.44	0.84	8.88	..	..	90.52	0.60
France	1991	16.44	6.67	9.77	82.67	0.89	7.49	2.25	5.24	87.53	4.98
Germany	1991	11.54	6.73	4.81	87.98	0.47	5.75	2.57	3.18	90.47	3.78
Greece	1991	42.87	8.30	34.57	52.39	4.74	20.15	2.45	17.70	54.65	25.20
Hungary	1992	13.48	..	..	85.34	1.18	8.10	..	..	88.31	3.59
Ireland	1991	28.54	6.67	21.87	69.86	1.60	7.83	2.35	5.48	89.56	2.61
Italy	1991	28.26	1.30	26.96	69.40	2.34	16.86	0.43	16.43	75.83	7.31
Luxembourg	1991	10.48	4.76	5.71	89.52	0.00	7.01	1.75	5.26	89.47	3.51
Netherlands	1991	11.02	4.32	6.70	88.63	0.35	7.79	1.58	6.21	88.39	3.82
Norway	1992	12.44	..	..	86.73	0.83	4.60	..	..	93.53	1.87
Poland	1994 Q1	27.60	3.90	23.70	67.40	5.10	22.00	2.00	20.00	70.40	7.60
Portugal	1991	26.58	6.96	19.62	71.10	2.32	26.10	2.59	23.51	67.90	6.00

Table VI. (cont.)

Country		Men					Women				
		Employers and own account workers	of which		Employees	Unpaid family workers	Employers and own account workers	of which		Employees	Unpaid family workers
			with employees	without employees				with employees	without employees		
Romania	1992	9.60	..	..	89.30	1.10	15.59	..	..	82.34	2.08
Slovenia	1991	3.33	..	..	95.18	1.49	1.38	..	..	95.90	2.72
Spain	1991	22.68	5.08	17.60	74.50	2.81	15.63	1.70	13.93	74.76	9.61
Sweden	1992	13.52	..	..	86.16	0.32	4.51	..	..	95.00	0.49
UK	1991	17.71	5.49	12.22	82.29	0.00	7.21	2.10	5.11	92.78	0.00
United States	1992	9.95	..	..	89.94	0.11	5.68	..	..	93.86	0.46

Source: ILO Yearbook of Labour Statistics, 1993, Geneva; EUROSTAT; Labour Force Survey, 1991, data provided by EUROSTAT; national labour force surveys.

Table VII. Percentage distribution of economically active men and women by major economic sectors in ECE countries, for years around 1970, 1980 and 1990

Country	Year	Men			Women		
		Agriculture	Industry	Services	Agriculture	Industry	Services
Austria	1971	12	51	37	17	29	53
	1981	7	51	42	10	27	63
	1991	6	49	45	8	21	71
Belgium	1970	5	51	44	3	30	67
	1981	4	42	54	2	17	81
	1991	3	38	59	2	13	85
Bulgaria	1975	21	48	31	26	37	37
	1985	16	52	32	17	41	42
Canada	1971	9	38	53	4	17	79
	1981	7	37	56	3	16	81
	1992	4	33	63	2	12	86
Czechoslavakia	1970	17	55	28	16	41	43
(former)	1980	15	57	28	12	40	48
	1991	15	54	31	10	37	53
Czech Repubic	1993	7	53	40	6	34	60
Denmark	1970	13	44	43	7	23	71
	1981	10	43	47	3	18	79
	1991	8	38	54	3	17	80
Finland	1970	24	42	34	16	24	60
	1980	14	44	41	10	23	67
	1992	10	41	49	6	16	78
France	1968	16	48	36	15	26	60
	1982	9	43	48	7	22	72
	1987	8	40	52	6	18	76
Germany, Fed.	1970	6	55	39	10	35	55
Rep. of	1981	5	53	42	8	30	63
	1992	3	45	52	3	22	75
Greece	1971	36	30	34	54	17	29
	1981	27	34	39	33	21	46
	1991	20	33	47	26	18	56
Hungary	1970	26	49	25	23	40	37
	1980	21	48	31	15	38	46
	1992	18	42	40	12	28	61
Ireland	1971	32	33	35	9	25	66
	1981	20	40	40	4	22	74
	1991	19	34	47	3	18	78
Italy	1971	17	49	35	19	33	49
	1981	12	44	44	13	29	58
	1991	8	37	55	9	22	69

Table VII. (cont.)

Country	Year	Men			Women		
		Agriculture	Industry	Services	Agriculture	Industry	Services
Luxembourg	1970	8	55	37	6	13	81
	1981	5	45	50	5	11	84
	1991	4	39	57	3	9	88
Netherlands	1971	7	43	49	3	18	79
	1981	7	39	54	3	13	84
	1991	5	34	60	3	11	86
Norway	1970	13	44	42	7	19	74
	1980	10	40	50	6	14	80
	1992	7	35	58	3	10	86
Poland	1970	32	44	24	46	24	30
	1978	28	46	26	33	29	38
	1992	25	41	34	25	21	54
Portugal	1981	18	44	38	20	29	51
	1992	10	40	50	13	25	62
Romania	1977	26	51	23	51	26	23
	1992	20	53	27	25	42	33
Slovakia	1994	13	49	38	8	31	61
Slovenia	1991	13	49	37	14	36	50
Spain	1970	34	39	27	23	28	49
	1981	21	43	36	20	24	56
	1992	11	42	47	9	17	74
Sweden	1970	10	51	39	5	21	74
	1980	8	49	43	4	18	78
	1992	5	40	55	2	12	86
Switzerland	1970	9	53	38	5	32	63
	1980	7	48	45	5	25	70
	1992	6	43	51	4	19	77
Turkey	1970	56	17	27	90	5	4
	1980	45	22	33	88	5	7
	1992	33	27	40	72	14	14
United Kingdom	1971	4	53	43	1	30	69
	1981	3	48	49	1	22	77
	1992	3	37	60	1	14	85
USSR (former)	1970	25	45	30	27	31	42
	1989	22	55	23	16	36	48
United States	1970	5	42	53	1	21	78
	1982	5	38	56	2	18	80
	1992	4	34	62	1	15	84

Source: ILO, Yearbook of Labour Statistics, various issues, Geneva; national labour force surveys.
Note: Data for the years around 1970 and 1980 are mostly Population Census data, while data for the last year refer to labour force surveys. The two are thus not strictly comparable.

Table VIII. Percentage share of women workers by industry in ECE countries, 1980-1994

Country	Year	Agricul-ture, forest. 1	Mining & quarrying 2	Manufac-turing 3	Electr. gas & water 4	Constru-ction 5	Trade, rest. & hotels 6	Transport & commun. 7	Banking Insur.,Bus.s. 8	Other services 9	Total
Austria	1991	47	9	27	11	10	58	20	49	57	41
	1981	31	10	34	15	10	58	17	50	55	40
Belgium	1991	27	4	24	11	6	50	18	42	56	40
	1981	21	2	23	8	4	46	13	39	58	36
Canada	1992	28	15	29	22	12	48	26	52	63	45
	1981	23	13	27	17	9	43	23	61	56	40
Czechoslovakia	1990	40	16	43	25	14	70	32	48	64	46
	1981	39	16	48	28	15	75	35	51	58	48
Czech Republic	1993	38	17	44	28	11	59	37	52	64	46
Denmark	1991	25	17	33	13	11	48	27	45	66	46
	1981	21	9	29	12	9	51	23	47	69	45
Finland	1992	34	25	34	23	10	57	26	54	69	48
	1981	40	10	36	19	11	60	27	62	69	47
France	1991	36	a/	31	20	8	47	27	49	62	43
Germany,	1991	43	7	29	16	11	58	26	47	53	40
Fed. Rep.of	1981	49	7	29	13	9	55	22	48	52	38
Greece	1992	41	8	30	13	1	38	11	40	46	34
	1982	41	5	28	11	1	34	9	33	42	31
Hungary	1991	32	a/	44	a/	22	67	33	b/	64	49
	1980	36		44		18	63	24		60	43
Ireland	1991	8	8	29	11	4	43	20	46	53	34
	1981	7	3	26	10	2	33	18	49	53	28
Italy	1991	37	a/	32	11	6	37	16	41	48	35
	1980	36		32	9	3	33	11	29	50	32

Table VIII. (cont.)

Country	Year	Agricul-ture, forest. 1	Mining & quarrying 2	Manufac-turing 3	Electr. gas & water 4	Constru-ction 5	Trade, rest. & hotels 6	Transport & commun. 7	Banking Insur., Bus.s. 8	Other services 9	Total
Netherlands	1991	28	a/	20	14	7	45	21	38	56	39
	1981	16	12	17	9	6	39	13	35	50	32 ay
Norway	1992	26	20	25	20	8	53	31	43	64	46
	1981	29	a/	23	a/	6	56	23	45	64	41
Poland	1992	45	a/	34	a/	13	59	29	80 c/ b/	61	45
	1980	47		39		19	71	26		64	43
Portugal	1992	49	5	43	23	4	42	24	39	64	44
	1981	53	5	38	14	2	44	16	36	52	40
Romania	1991	53	17	46	23	14	58	22	53 b/	59	47
	1980	62	10	37	18	11	56	18		55	46
Russian Fed. d/	1990	39	a/	48	a/	26	80	32	88 e/	70	52
Slovakia	1994	32	17	46	18	11	59	32	53	66	46
Slovenia	1992	54	8	42	21	13	65	24	58	61	47
Spain	1992	28	4	23	7	4	43	12	32	54	33
	1981	26	2	22	5	2	37	9	23	55	28
Sweden	1992	28	9	27	19	8	49	31	44	72	48
	1981	26	7	27	19	8	52	27	47	71	46
Ukraine d/	1990	42	a/	48	a/	26	80	32	89 c/	69	53
United Kingdom	1991	21	a/	29	18	10	53	23	48	64	44
	1981	18	5	28	20	8	55	19	52	57	41
United States	1992	21	16	33	21	9	47	30	53	61	46
	1980	20	15	32	19	8	47	29	54	58	43

Sources: ILO, Yearbook of Labour Statistics, various issues, Geneva; national statistics.
a/ Included in Col. 3. b/ Included in Col. 9. c/ Banking and Insurance only. d/ Employees. e/ Banking, Insurance and Computer services.

Table IX. Percentage share of women workers by occupations in ECE countries, 1983-1994.

Country	Year	Total	Prof. & techn. 0/1	Admin. & Mangt. 2	Clerical 3	Sales 4	Service 5	Agric. & rel. 6	Produc. & rel. 7/8/9
Austria	1991	41	47	17	67	60	72	48	14
	1984	40	48	13	61	59	73	45	16
Belgium	1991	38	50	23	54	49	63	29	12
	1983	34	47	13	45	49	63	27	13
Canada	1992	45	56	41	80	45	58	23	14
	1983	42	51	30	79	41	54	21	14
Czech Republic	1993	46	56	24	81	69 a/	..	53	31
Germany	1991	40	43	19	61	57	58	42	16
Fed. Rep. of	1984	38	41	21	60	56	56	47	15
Denmark	1991	46	62	18	65	50	71	12	22
	1984	46	60	17	63	50	74	7	23
Finland	1992	48	62	27	75	56	71	34	16
	1983	48	57	19	79	55	78	39	21
France	1990	43	43	10	69	48	69	32	15
	1983	41	41	14	65	48	69	35	16
Greece	1991	34	43	13	49	37	42	40	16
	1983	33	37	14	47	32	42	43	15
Hungary	1993	46	53	50	80	67 a/	..	27	30
Ireland	1991	35	48	17	65	38	52	8	14
	1983	31	46	11	60	36	52	11	13
Luxembourg	1990	34	38	9	47	53	72	27	5
	1983	33	36	1	45	58	74	29	6
Netherlands	1991	39	44	16	58	43	71	24	9
	1983	33	39	7	51	39	67	18	7
Norway	1992	46	57	29	78	51	74	26	16
	1983	42	52	20	78	55	77	28	13
Poland	1993	45	64	38	81	70 a/	..	48	25
Portugal	1992	44	52	37	59	44	69	49	26
	1983	39	53	9	46	38	66	49	24
Slovakia	1994	46	58	23	83	69 a/	..	40	30
Slovenia	1991	47	55	23	78	61	78	49	28
Spain	1991	33	48	9	50	44	58	28	12
	1983	29	38	3	37	42	60	27	13
Sweden	1992	49	64 b/		63	48	63	25	18
	1983	47	54	20	81	47	75	23	18
Turkey	1992	31	31	6	32	7	12	50	14
	1983	12	26	5	31	4	9	17	6
United	1990	45	48	33	72	50	70	17	16
Kingdom	1983	41	43	17	69	48	72	14	15
United States	1992	46	52	41	79	48	60	16	18
	1983	44	48	34	80	48	61	16	18

Sources: ILO, Yearbook of Labour Statistics, 1993, Geneva; national labour force surveys.
a/ Incl. Service workers. b/ Incl. Administrative and managerial.

Table X. Female earnings as a percentage of male earnings in selected ECE countries, 1990-1993

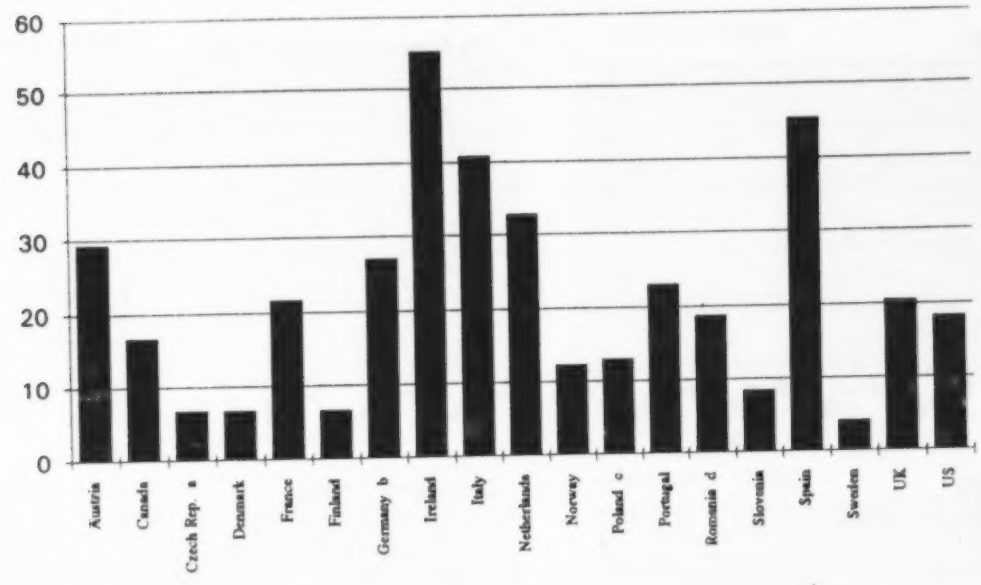
Country	Year	Hourly earnings of manual workers in manufacturing	Monthly earnings of non-manuals a/			
			Industry	Trade	Banking	Insur.
Belgium	1993	73.3 b/	67.4	73.7/ 68.8 c/	78.5	77.3
Czech Republic	1993	75.3	..	..	..	..
Finland	1992	78.3	76.3 d/	85.2 e/	78.3	70.2
France	1993	78.8	68.1	70.9/ 68.4 c/	75.2	67.0
Germany f/	1992	73.7	67.2	70.8/ 68.7 c/	76.9	78.6
Greece	1993	80.7	70.7	80.5/ 78.6 c/	75.7	81.0
Hungary	1992	66.9	54.8	63.0	58.1 g/	..
Ireland	1992	70.7	..	..	..	..
Luxembourg	1991	61.0	56.1	58.8	68.9	68.7
Netherlands	1992	76.5	67.1	68.2/ 66.6 c/	60.5	69.1
Norway	1992	86.9	75.0	79.9	83.4	71.9
Portugal	1992	68.2	71.1	80.4/ 79.8 c/	81.7	87.0
Spain	1992	78.2	60.8	64.1 h/	77.5 h/	71.9 h/
Sweden	1990	89.5 b/	74.9	74.3	..	73.8
Switzerland	1991	68.0	68.5 h/	73.5/ 64.6 h/	81.3 h/	72.2 h/
United Kingdom	1993	68.6	59.3	62.6	53.8	58.3
United States	1993	72.2 i/	..	..	..	..

Sources: ILO, LABOSTA, Geneva; EUROSTAT, Earnings, Industry and Services, 1990, 1991, and 1993, Brussels; US Department of Labor, Bureau of Labor Statistices, Employment and Earnings, January 1994, Washington DC.

a/ Incl. part-time employees, namely in Belgium and Greece. For France part-time employees are included on a full-time equivalent basis.
b/ 1992.
c/ Wholesale trade and retail trade, respectively.
d/ Technical personnel and office staff.
e/ Salespersons and shop assistants.
f/ West Germany.
g/ Banking and insurance.
h/ 1990.
i/ Median weekly earnings of operators, fabricators and labourers.

Figure I. Gap between labour force participation of prime-age men and women in selected ECE countries, 1991

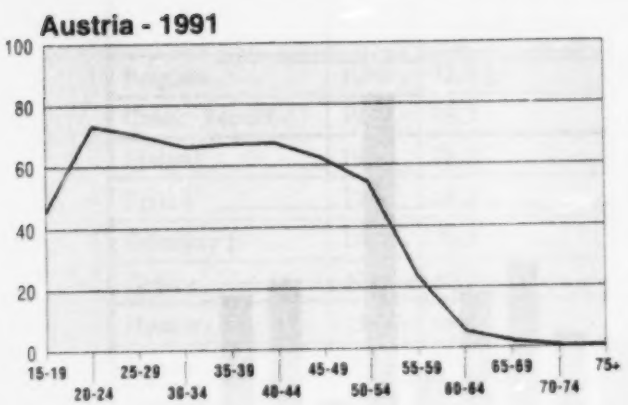
(Percentage point difference between labour force participation rates of men and women aged 25-54)

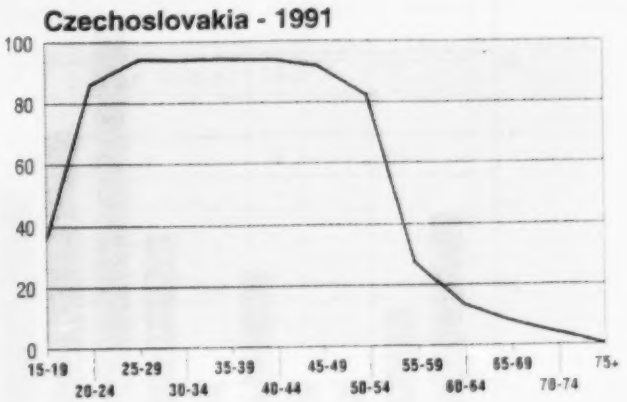


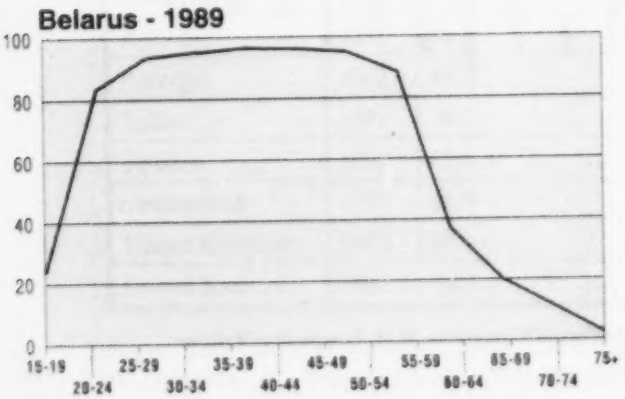
a Refers to 1993.
b West Germany.
c Refers to 1994.
d Refers to 1992.

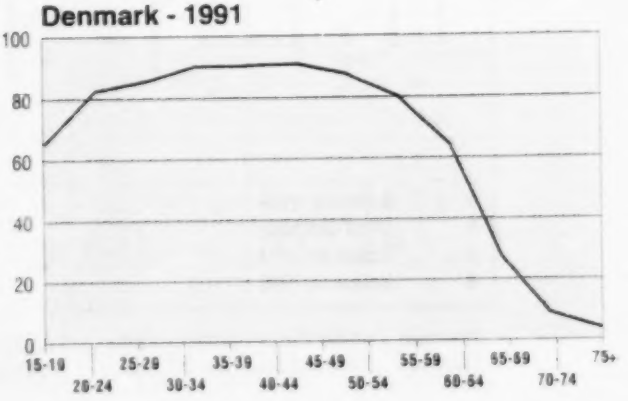
Sources: *Labour Force Statistics 1970-1990*, OECD Statistical Directorate, ILO, *Yearbook of Labour Statistics*, 1993, national labour force surveys.

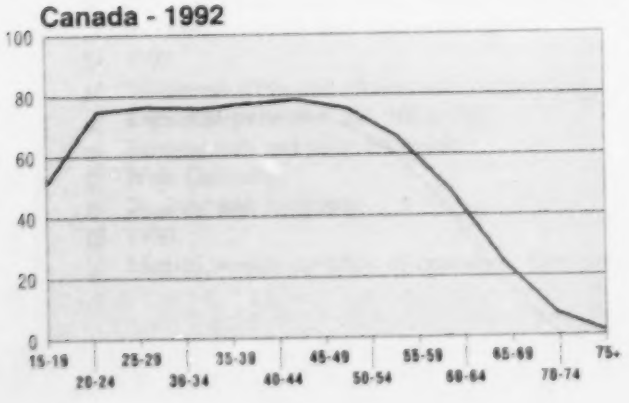
Figure 2
Female Labour Force Participation Rates by Age-group, 1991-1992.

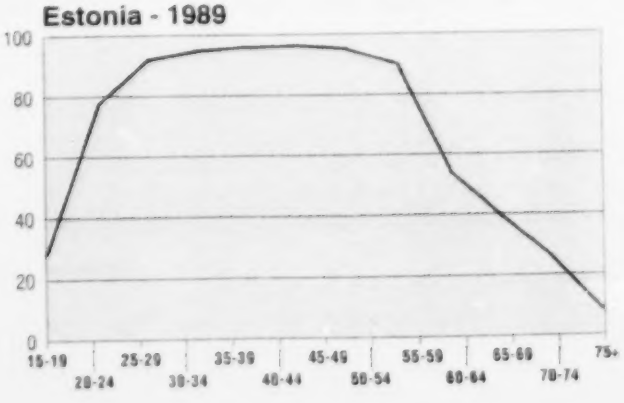






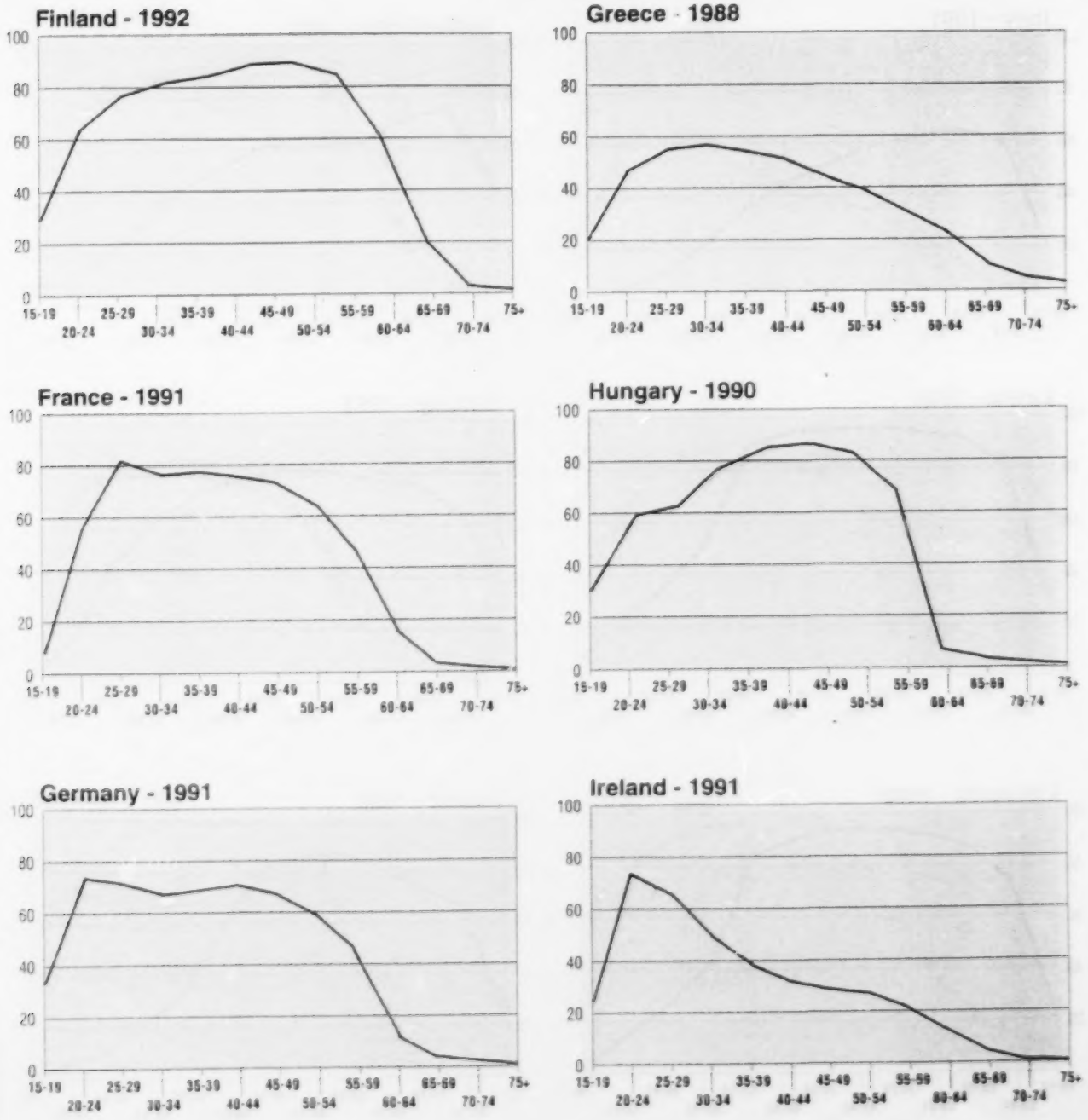






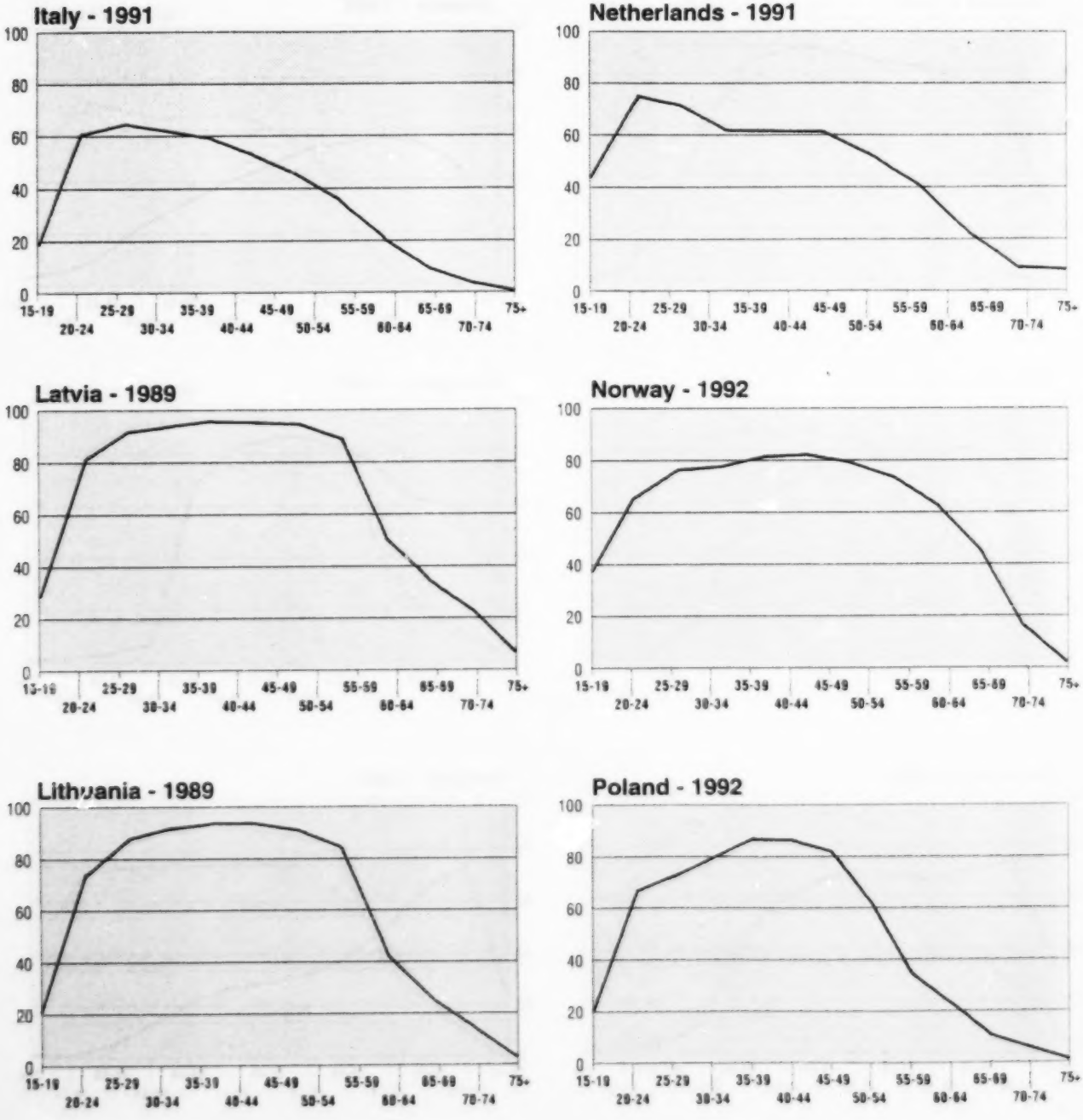
Source: ILO, *Yearbook of Labour Statistics 1993* Geneva

Figure 2
. Female Labour Force Participation Rates by Age-group, 1991-1992.
(continued)



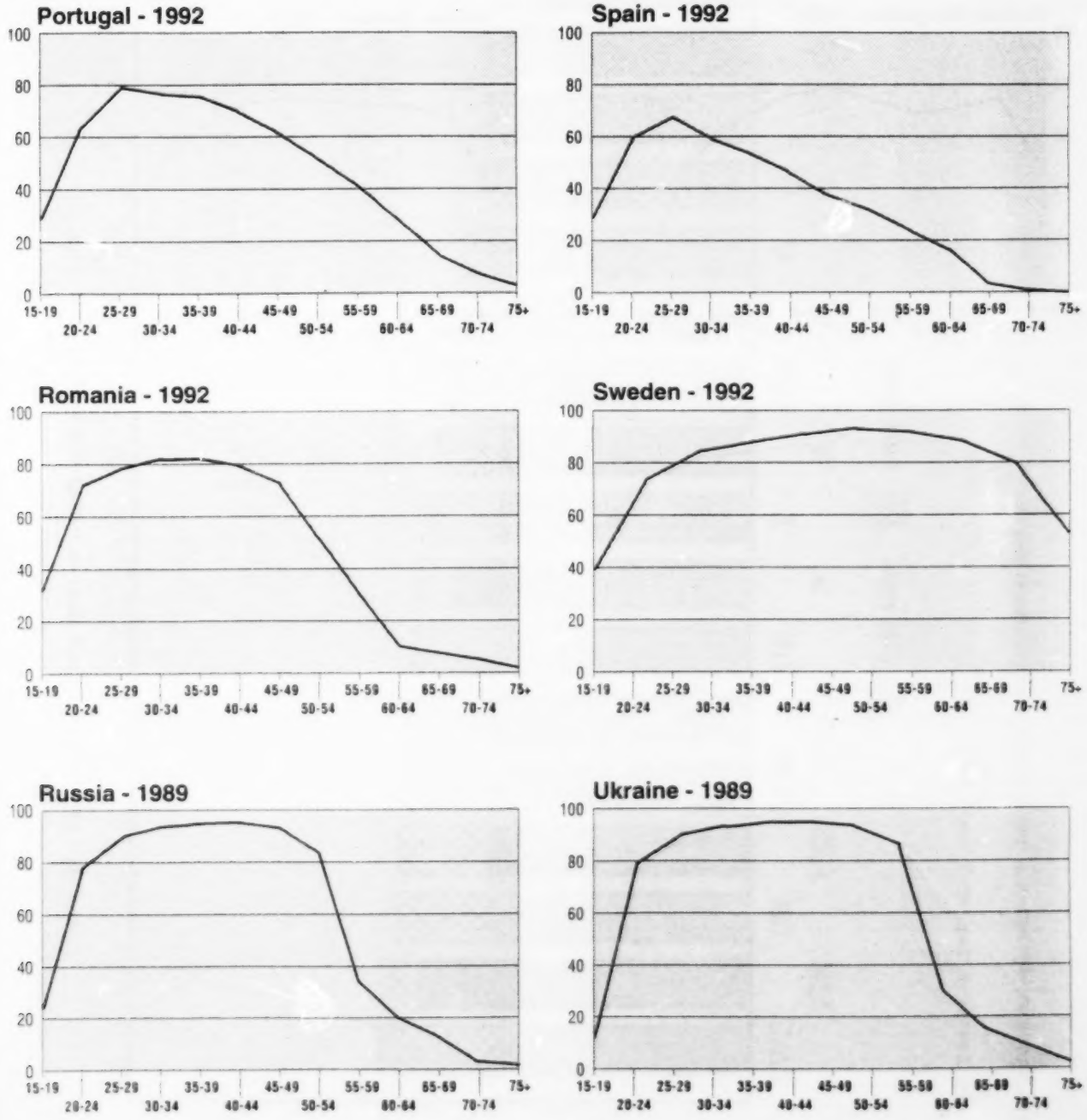
Source: ILO. *Yearbook of Labour Statistics 1993*. Geneva.

Figure 2
Female Labour Force Participation Rates by Age-group, 1991-1992.
(continued)



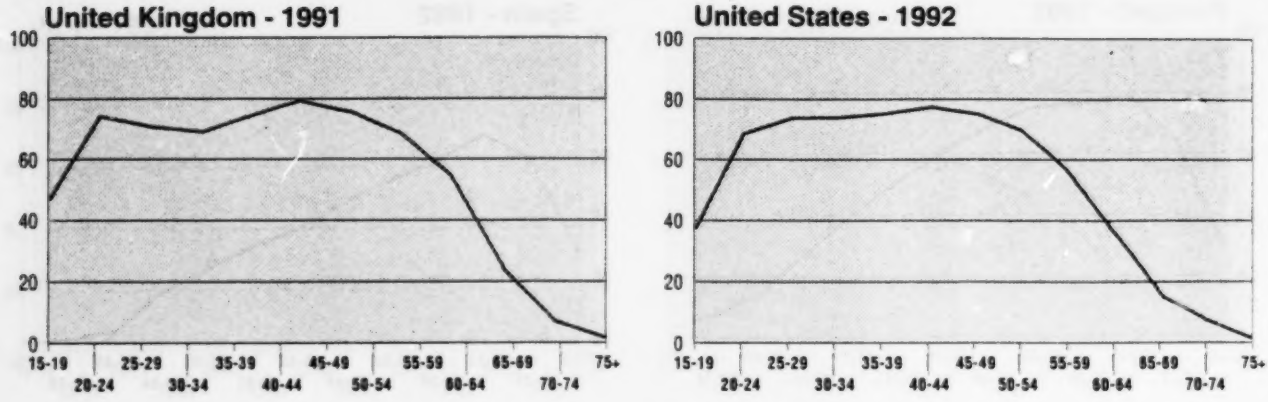
Source: ILO, Yearbook of Labour Statistics 1993, Geneva

Figure 2
Female Labour Force Participation Rates by Age-group, 1991-1992.
(continued)



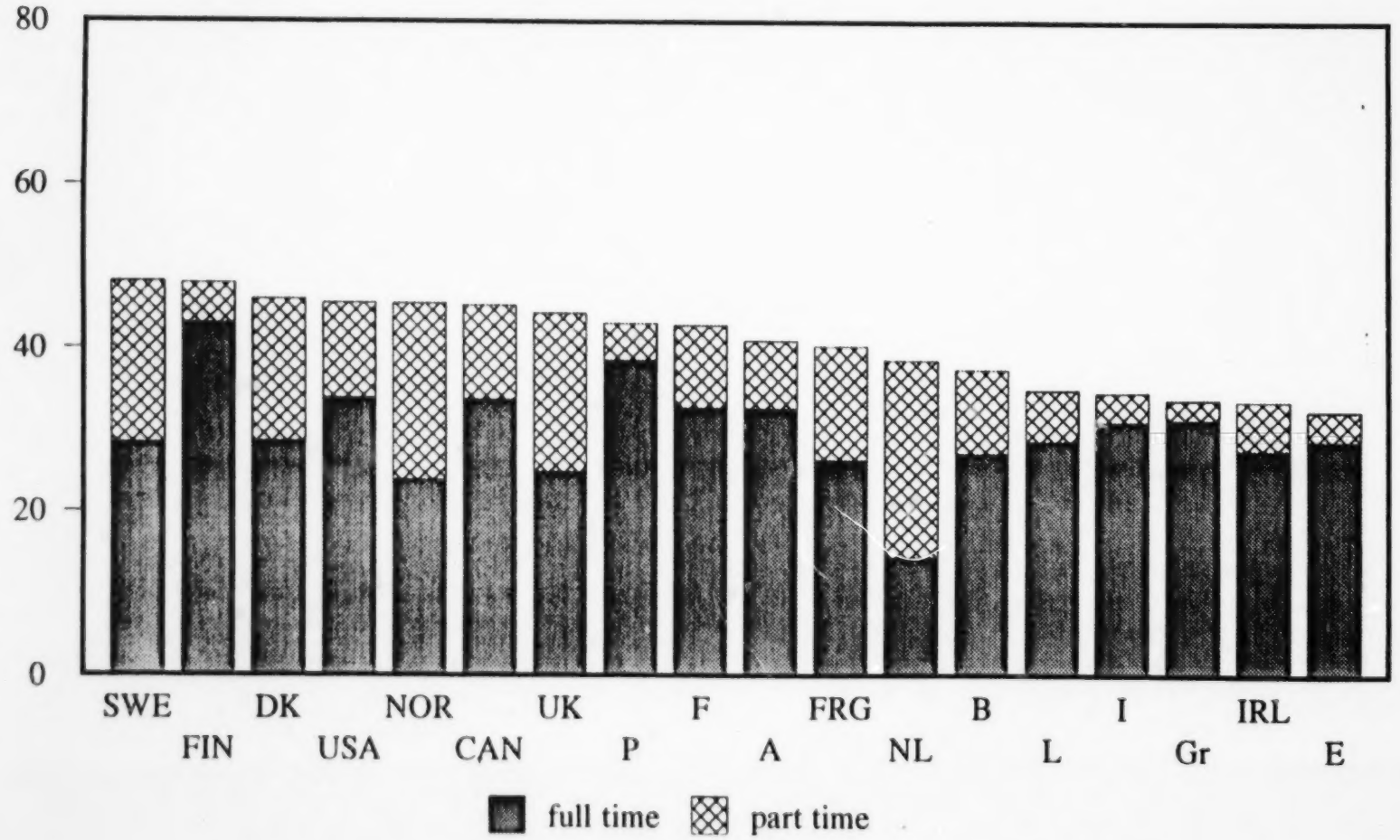
Source: ILO, Yearbook of Labour Statistics 1993, Geneva

Figure 2
Female Labour Force Participation Rates by Age-group, 1991-1992.
(concluded)



Source: ILO, *Yearbook of Labour Statistics 1993*, Geneva.

Figure III. Full- and part-time share of female employment ratio, 1991 a)



Source: ILO *Yearbook 1992 and 1993; Employment Outlook 1993*, OECD.

a) Percentage of full-and part-time women workers in the total female population aged 15+.

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ECONOMIC COMMISSION FOR EUROPE

HIGH-LEVEL REGIONAL PREPARATORY MEETING
FOR THE FOURTH WORLD CONFERENCE ON WOMEN
Vienna, 17-21 October 1994
Item 6(d) of the provisional agenda

THE ROLE OF WOMEN IN THE TRANSITION PROCESSES: FACING A MAJOR CHALLENGE

Report by the secretariat

CONTENTS

		paragraphs
I.	Introduction	1-7
II.	Women and the shortage economy: the legacy	8-20
III.	The change: uneven pace of market building	21-36
IV.	The costs of transition: taking over a large share	37-51
V.	Emerging opportunities: the small "windows" . . .	52-67
VI.	Key areas of gender concern	68-73
VII.	Foreign assistance: the need for a gender focus .	74
	Tables	

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Introduction

1. During the last four years it has become evident that contrary to initial expectations, building market economies in eastern Europe and now independent republics of the former Union of Soviet Socialist Republics 1/ will take years, and in some cases decades, and that this process will be costly for societies. True, the transition process has opened new opportunities for entrepreneurship and private sector activities which could become a powerful engine of growth. It is thus expected that in the longer run, overall economic efficiency will gradually improve leading to meaningful increases in living standards. In the short and medium term, however, there is a major distribution problem: how are the costs of transition, in terms of unemployment, falling real wages and household incomes, and access to opportunities, mostly identified with job and income creation in the emerging private sector, going to be divided among various social groups and by gender under conditions where the window of opportunity is small and the costs are very significant?

2. The role of women in the transition process is conceptually undefined and until now women seem to be losing much of the benefits acquired in the past and have practically no influence on shaping the institutional, structural and policy changes in eastern Europe, Commonwealth of Independent States countries and Baltic States. There is little doubt, however, that the change has a profound impact on women's situation. Despite the lack of formal discrimination, they seem to be more vulnerable than men to the hardship of transition which could result in taking over a high share of the overall costs of this process. At the same time their access to new opportunities is rather narrow.

3. The current position of women in the eastern and central European economy presents a mixed picture. Women play an important role in all economic activities in the region as a result of the policies under the former regime. They represent, on average, half of the labour force and in most countries are equally or often better educated than men. At the same time, informal norms and behaviour put women at a disadvantage both in the workplace and within the family. The level of women's education does not match the low-skilled positions they predominantly occupy and they are an easy target for employment cuts. The gender contract is still very traditional, leaving women with the principal responsibility for managing household resources. They are thus directly affected by the collapse of the socialist welfare system. Women are also poorly organized, as well as poorly represented within formal and informal structures, and have limited chances to articulate and defend their interests.

4. Building a market economy embodies a major challenge for women in eastern and central Europe, that is, to establish a partnership position under the new

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1/ The term "eastern Europe" includes Albania, Bulgaria, Croatia, Czech Republic, Hungary, Poland, Romania, Slovakia, Slovenia, and the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (Serbia and Montenegro). Independent republics of the former Soviet Union cooperating in the institutions of the Commonwealth of Independent States are referred to as the CIS countries. Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania are referred to as Baltic States. (Based on terminology used in the Economic Survey of Europe)

institutional framework, in particular on the labour market and within a family. This requires not only retraining in order to adjust their skills and knowledge to the new patterns of demand for labour but also implies deep changes in the existing gender contract which until now has been supported by the generous and protective system of State welfare.

5. The broad argument of this report is that the failure to incorporate women as equal partners in the process of transition will have serious implications on the pace of change. The risk is, at least, two-fold. First, that affecting women more than men will further disturb the fragile social equilibrium in the region and accelerate the process of social disintegration. Second, that the large share of human resources will remain under-used. Both will have negative impact on long-term growth and prosperity in eastern and central Europe.

6. The main purpose of this report is to examine the role of women in the transition process within this double perspective in order to identify major areas of gender concern and to formulate action-oriented proposals aimed at incorporating women into the process of market building in eastern and central Europe. In analysing the economic situation in transition economies, the report relies on works of the Economic Commission for Europe, in particular on the Economic Survey for Europe and the Economic Bulletin for Europe.

7. Parts I and II of the report present a brief overview of the evolution of women's position in the economy as well as of major changes under the transition. Parts III and IV examine the adverse effects of the recession and stabilization policies on women as well as discuss the emerging opportunities in the private sector. Part V identifies key areas of gender concern and action oriented proposals.

I. WOMEN AND THE SHORTAGE ECONOMY: THE LEGACY

8. Under the socialist system women have gained equality on formal grounds, including an unprecedented level of integration into the labour market and access to education. Though there was no formal discrimination, women's role in the economy differed from that of men; there was a considerable gap in the level of women's and men's incomes, social status and contribution to mainstream activities. Women's representation in the decision-making structures was, with some exceptions, a formal requirement to fill administrative quotas. The main purpose of this part is to evaluate women's heritage, that is, their assets and liabilities, while entering the emerging market environment.

(a) Women and professional life

9. Women's role in the post-war industrialization was important and consistent with the rapidly growing share of the female labour force, in particular in the 1950s and 1960s, in all countries in that region. Ideologically, employment was equated with women's emancipation and a number of provisions were established in order to ensure that women could combine motherhood with full-time jobs. The State-provided social infrastructure was organized in such a way as to take over many of women's family responsibilities, in particular in the area of child care. At the same time, women enjoyed many work-related privileges, including maternity benefits and leave for caring for sick family members.

10. Women's participation rates in eastern and central European countries have been consistently high, around 80%. The level of women's education improved considerably and became comparable, or higher, than men's. The returns on women's education were, however, quite low. 2/ The distribution of the female labour force by sector, and by industry was uneven with strong concentration in less prestigious jobs by the standards of centrally planned economies, and less-paid jobs in light industries, which employed the bulk of women's workers 3/ and services. Female workers were employed as accountants, clerks and social workers mainly in public administration at national and enterprise level, in education, health and art related professions, and within the service area in public catering, banking and insurance. In the former Soviet Union, for example, women accounted for 89% of all book-keepers; 87% of economists; 70% of teachers and 67% of physicians. 4/

11. Low returns of women's education and inefficiency in allocation of human resources under the planned economy as illustrated also by the small number of women at managerial positions and routine and repetitive work either in the office or in the factory could be partly explained by the traditional attitudes of male decision makers. It was, however, often also a women's "choice" opting for less responsibility at work and in consequence a less demanding work pace against the background of their overburdened daily schedule. There seemed to be a tacit understanding in most State enterprises and organizations that, since women had to combine their work and family obligations "somehow", they could leave their workplace to take care of household problems including, under the conditions of shortage economy, hours of queuing for food. This practice has survived to a certain extent in State enterprises until today. The ILO survey carried out in the Czech and Slovak Republics in 1991/92 revealed that 70% of women could leave their workplace to "attend to urgent personal matters" without much difficulty, of which 13% any time, 24% sometimes and 33% exceptionally. 5/

12. Such practices had a number of long term consequences on women's image as workers, their promotion prospects as well as their attitudes. In most societies in the region women are still considered not only as "expensive" but also "less reliable " workers, which is now one of the reasons for the gender bias in recruitment, shown by enterprise managers and revealed by the ILO survey. These practices seriously limited women's participation in in-house

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2/ Bialecki, Ireneusz and Barbara Heyns "Educational Attainment, the Status of Women, and the Private School Movement in Poland", in Democratic Reform and the Position of Women in Transitional Economies, ed. Valentina M.Moghadam, Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1993

3/ Women's share in industrial employment was, however, high by international standards, no less than 43% of the manufacturing labour force was female. UNIDO, 1993: Women in Manufacturing: Participation, patterns, Determinants and Trends, Vienna.

4/ Natalia Rimashevskaia "Perestroika and the status of women in the Soviet Union" in Women in the face of change: The Soviet Union, Eastern Europe and China, Rai Shirin, Hilary Pilkington and Annie Phizacklea, Routledge, London and New York, 1992.

5/ PORI, 1991/92, Zamestnanost Zen: Zaverecna sprava z vyzkumu, Public Opinion Research Institute, Prague

training programmes and prospects for promotion. Also a particular "female" patterns of attitudes towards work emerged such as poor assertion skills, evading success, fear of responsibility, and determination of job satisfaction by social conditions (company atmosphere, opportunity for personal communication) rather than by objective criteria (income, promotion prospects, leverage in collective bargaining) 6/.

13. Women's wages and salaries were persistently lower than men's in all former planned economies. In the beginning of the 1990s in the former Soviet Union the proportion of women in the low-wage group (monthly wage under 150 roubles) was 43%, while that of men 16% of men; in the highest wage group (above 300 roubles) the opposite proportions prevailed with only 2% of women and 11% of men. 7/ It should be mentioned that women worked in "secondary" sectors where wages and salaries, were generally lower than in mining, steel industry and other "primary" industries; they also worked at lower positions. There is, however, evidence that there were also significant earnings differentials within the same occupational category. In the 1980s as measured by the level of men's earnings in professional group (100), wages of female professionals in Bulgaria, former Czechoslovakia, Poland and Hungary were only at 73-78% of that of men, and large differences prevailed in other categories. In the former Czechoslovakia, for example, while male unskilled workers had wages at the level of 82% of that of male professionals, women touched only 50%. 8/ More recent survey data suggest wage differences showed similar pattern 10 years later. In 1990, Hungarian male unskilled workers on average earned 17% more than women in the same occupation. 9/

14. Women were not a homogeneous group and, despite similarities there existed significant differences in their position at work and in their work-related incomes. The polarization became particularly apparent in the 1980s. Becoming increasingly vulnerable were women with no possibilities of additional income through the second economy, either legally or as "gifts" and bribes. The situation of rural women also deteriorated. In general, women with access to private-sector incomes, in countries where such activities existed, were in a better position. This included women with higher education,

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6/ Hildegard Maria Nickel "Women in the German Democratic Republic and in the New Federal States:Looking Backward and Forward (Five Theses) in Gender Politics and Post-Communism, ed Nanette Funk and Magda Muller, Routledge, New York, London, 1993.

7/ Zhenshchiny v SSSR, 1990:4, quoted by Rimashevskaia (1992) ..op cit

8/ Data from G.Kertesi and G.Kovari (1986) quoted by Sabine Hubner et al. "Women's employment in central and eastern Europe:status and prospects", in Structural Changes in Central and Eastern Europe: Labour Market and Social Policy Implications", ed. Georg Fisher and Guy Standing, OECD, Paris 1993.

9/ Sziraczki, Gyorgy and Jim Windell "The impact of employment restructuring on disadvantaged groups in Bulgaria and Hungary", Working Paper No.62, WEP 2-43/WP.62, ILO, January 1993.

such as doctors or lawyers, who could combine State jobs with private practice in some countries. 10/

(b) Women and the socialist welfare state

15. The socialist welfare system was build upon the idea of protecting women as the weaker sex and enabling them to fulfil their "natural" roles of wife and mother. Social benefits were extensive and included: (a) transfers in cash; (b) transfers in-kind and (c) housing and consumer subsidies. Social infrastructure provided services financed from the State budget and through the workplace, and included free-of-charge or low-cost nurseries, kindergartens, medical care, sport and recreation facilities and the like. Living costs were low on account of the prices of food, housing and other goods being maintained at an artificially low level.

16. During the last two decades the socialist welfare system deteriorated considerably as the increasingly inefficient centrally planned system could not provide adequate resources to support it. Access to social infrastructure became more difficult and, in many cases, could not be taken for granted requiring "gifts" and/or "connections". The conditions of the "shortage" economy diminished the value of cash benefits and had adverse effects on the quality of social services as illustrated by the high child/carer ratio or impersonal attitudes towards children of staff. 11/

(c) Women and family life

17. Despite the massive participation of women in the labour market the traditional gender contract changed little and paternalistic life-styles remained a norm across most social groups in former centrally planned economies. Such a pattern has been strengthened by policies of the 1970s and 1980 aimed at reversing the falling birth rates, as in the former Czechoslovakia, in Hungary, in Poland and in the former Soviet Union. The threat of depopulation has become an argument for exclusion of women from the labour market in order to become full-time mothers, especially when State budgets had fewer means to pursue the pattern of social benefits of the early days of socialism. The generous system of extended maternity leave, child care facilities and protective legislation isolated women and men felt largely relieved from their responsibilities as fathers and husbands. In 1990, for example, only two fathers took child-rearing leave in the former Czechoslovakia and in Poland less than 1% of fathers took leave of this type in 1989. 12/

18. The pattern of sharing the household responsibilities, as revealed by many household surveys, looked strikingly similar in most east European

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10/ For the discussion on patterns of income distribution under socialism see: Report on the World Social Situation 1993, United Nations, New York, ST/ESA/235; E/1993/50/Rev.1, Chapter VII Income Distribution and Poverty.

11/ Ruminska-Zimny, Ewa "The Family and Society: Facing Socio-Economic and Political Crisis", United Nations Interregional Seminar on Women in Development, Warsaw, 29-31 May 1989.

12/ Data taken from national surveys.

families. Men were responsible for once-in-a while tasks which tied them to the home physically less regularly, such as repairing the car, painting the apartment or dealing with State administration (this in particular in rural areas), whilst women were usually responsible for everyday functioning of the household (caring tasks, cooking, cleaning). Other women in the family, in particular grandmothers, were sharing numerous family responsibilities with their working daughters.

19. The double burden of work and family responsibilities was particularly heavy in the 1980s when the centrally planned system became dysfunctional in practically all former socialist countries. Life was especially difficult for older and less educated women with large families, and for single mothers, the number of which has been on the rise, and for rural women. 13/ This could explain why the change associated with democracy and market system was perceived by some groups of women as the right not to work. 14/ Though not a common attitude, it is perhaps not all that surprising that the full-time homemaking has the romantic allure of an unattainable dream for some women in the region.

Conclusions

20. The advancement of women under the socialist system, seen at the time as spectacular by international standards, had serious limitations. Women were a highly protected, and at the same time, discriminated social group with a woman's equality related more to her as a mother than as an individual. The legacy of the past has a strong impact on the current position of women in transition economies; it determines the level of women's education, employment patterns by sector and their income structure, as well as their social position, and women's value systems and expectations. The list of women's liabilities is long and includes: (a) absence from the decision making structures at all levels including formal institutions as Government or trade unions, and informal grass root movements such NGOs, or interests groups; (b) lower position and wages; (c) perception of women as expensive and often little reliable workers; (d) traditional gender contract and patriarchal social structures. There are, however, some assets of women's heritage from the past. They include: (a) good education levels; and (b) some entrepreneurial skills acquired through living under the conditions of a shortage economy.

13/ Most studies on rural women in eastern Europe refer to the situation in Poland. Gutkowska K., and K. Zelazna "Rural women in a family and in a household in Poland", mimeo, Office of the Council of Ministers, Office of the Governmental Plenipotentiary for Women and Family Affairs, Warsaw, March 1993. Also, Pine, Frances "Uneven Burden:Women in rural Poland", in Women in the Face of Change: The Soviet Union, Eastern Europe and China, ed. Shirin Rai, Hilary Pilkington and Annie Phiacklea, Routledge, London 1992.

14/ Lissyutkina, Laryssa "Soviet Women at the Crossroads of Perestroika", in Gender Politics and Post-Communism, ed Nanette Funk and Magda Muller, Routledge, New York, London, 1993.

II. THE CHANGE: UNEVEN PACE OF MARKET BUILDING

21. The collapse of the centrally planned system altered significantly the social and economic environment for men and women in eastern and central Europe. The introduction of market rules increased competition on the labour market and seriously limited job security and many social benefits under the conditions of a sharp fall in gross domestic product (GDP) and employment. Structural changes have been affecting present jobs and future employment and macroeconomic policies determined the degree of hardship to be absorbed by societies in the short term. The purpose of part II of this report is to present major changes in eastern and central Europe as a context for analysis in the two following sections of women's share in the costs of transition and in emerging opportunities.

(a) Macroeconomic policies and economic performance

22. The approach to building market economies varied in approach, timing and scope. While Poland embarked on the road towards market economy with its comprehensive "shock therapy" in 1989, in Albania, Ukraine and the Russian Federation the reforms did not start until 1992 and were much narrower in character. Despite these differences the main thrust of macroeconomic policies was similar and structured around stabilization-cum-liberalization programmes aimed at assigning a greater role to market prices in resource allocation. Thus in most countries control over prices was lifted, consumer subsidies, with few exceptions such as for some basic food products, were eliminated, and trade liberalization was combined with sharp devaluation of national currencies. At the same time fiscal and monetary policies were tightened, in order to control inflation and budgetary deficits. Since 1989 all countries have also experienced an unprecedented deterioration in their economic performance accompanied by drastic deterioration in the living standards and social welfare. The fall in output has reached huge proportions, especially in the CIS countries but also in the Balkan region, where the total, cumulative fall of industrial output in Bulgaria and Romania during the last four years reached nearly half of the total industrial production, and total cumulative loss of employment in Bulgaria was of over 28%. 15/

23. The pace of recovery and growth prospects differ by country and reflect divergent policies and approaches to transition, uneven impact of external constraints, as well as differences in starting conditions. The prospects are more favourable for the "advanced" reformers, Czech Republic, Hungary, Poland and Slovakia, and are worst for the successor States of the Soviet Union, where the fall in output is expected to continue in 1994 by at least 10% on average, and for most successor States of the former Yugoslavia. 16/ The evaluation of the economic situation is, however, with some exceptions, based rather on deceleration or halting the output decline than on taking a decisive upward turn. All countries have also to face a crisis in public finance, heavy indebtedness of State enterprises, and problems of structural unemployment.

24. The number of jobless is expected to grow further in all countries, despite significant differences in unemployment rates which now vary from very

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15/ Economic Survey for Europe 1993-1994.

16/ The ECE economies in mid-1994, ECE, Geneva, July 1994.

low, as in most CIS countries (0-2%) and the Czech Republic (some 3%), to between 10 and 30% in eastern Europe. This expectation reflects the belief that the emerging recovery will not create enough new jobs to absorb the steady flow of newly registered unemployed coming from the shrinking State sector and agriculture. It is also estimated that even in countries where unemployment is already relatively large it is still below the levels which might prevail if the full adjustment of the labour force to the falls in output had taken place. Financial discipline has to be strengthened. In particular in countries with low levels of unemployment, as the CIS countries, this will force enterprises to shed the excess of labour force in response to the falling output. 17/

25. The prolonged recession, combined with restrictive macroeconomic policies, rise in unemployment and relatively little attention paid to social problems, resulted in the rapid deterioration of the social situation in all transition economies. Though social conditions stopped deteriorating in the better-off countries of eastern Europe such as Hungary, Slovakia and the Czech Republic, the extent of the social crisis in the region is extraordinary. According to a recent UNICEF report monitoring changes in the social situation in the region, 18/ the crisis appears to be most pronounced with regard to poverty, mortality, pre-school education and crime. It is reflected by rapid polarization of incomes and spread of poverty, decline in pre-school education, proliferation of crime, birth contraction and increase in the death rates. Since 1989, for instance, the crude death rate in all countries in transition, except for the Czech Republic, Slovakia, and possibly Albania, showed a consistent increase reaching the truly alarming dimension of 33% growth in the Russian Federation. 19/ Such sudden sharp changes in birth and death rates are signs of extreme social distress. The number of reported crime cases has also risen sharply, particularly in urban areas. Many of the crimes were alcohol related and committed by young offenders. In Hungary, for example, the number of reported crimes almost doubled between 1989 and 1992, rising from 225, 000 to 447, 000 and 40% of the people sentenced had committed their crimes under the influence of alcohol. 20/

(b) Structural changes: setting the directions for change

26. The process of market building in eastern and central Europe involves deep restructuring and shifts in resources within national economies in order to eliminate distorted: (a) sectoral structures, (b) size structures of enterprises, and (c) ownership structures. This process has just began in most transition economies, though it is highly differentiated according to country-specific features and advancement in the reform process. The pace and

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17/ The ECE Economies in mid-1994 op.cit. Low levels of unemployment in the CIS countries, except Armenia where it amounts to 6%, which could be explained, besides statistical deficiencies, by the "soft" budget constraints and lack of enforcement of bankruptcy laws which allow the enterprises to avoid labour cuts.

18/ Public Policy and Social Conditions, Regional Monitoring Report, No.1, November 1993 UNICEF

19/ Public Policy...op.cit. p. 20.

20/ ibid. p. 30.

character of changes in all these areas results in corresponding shifts of employment between economic sectors; between big, medium and small enterprises, and between the State and the private sector.

(i) Sectoral transformation

27. The analysis of sectoral changes in 1990-1992 indicates that in most east European countries the share of agriculture and industry in GDP has been decreasing, and that of services has been on the rise, in particular in Bulgaria, the Czech Republic, Poland and Slovakia. This corresponds with changes in employment where industry and agriculture, except in Romania, were losing jobs faster that the service sector (see table 1). Within industry the strongest decline was in iron and steel production, mechanical engineering, textiles, electrical as well as some high-tech branches such as telecommunications. In more general terms a shift away from capital goods towards consumer goods could be observed. In the CIS countries the patterns of structural changes differed from that of eastern Europe and the share of industry in GDP increased.

28. The evaluation of the restructuring process in transition economies requires at least two comments. First, that the changes has been relative and based on tne uneven contraction by branch of the general output and, in most cases, uneven contraction of employment. Second, that economic structures of all transition countries are still archaic as compared to these of market economies at a similar level of development. The share of services in the GDP is still low and the share of industry is high, exceeding substantially the Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) average of 34-35%. In east European countries, except for Hungary and Slovenia where the share of industry has been lower and that of services higher, the industrial sector is the main contributor to GDP, accounting for around 40-55%, while the share of services is approximately between a quarter to a third. Agriculture, too, plays an important role in some countries: in Romania 33% of the labour force is employed in agriculture, and in Poland over 27%. 21/ These structures have to be modernized and it is generally expected that the share of services will significantly increase, both in GDP and employment, and the share of the other, in particular agriculture, will sharply decline.

(ii) Changes in size structure of enterprises

29. High share of industrial and agricultural production has been concentrated in large-scale enterprises and State farms which now have to be broken down into smaller units and accompanied by reskilling and transfer of workers. This is a difficult task in many regions in eastern Europe, CIS countries and the Baltic States, where such enterprises are often the only employer providing not only jobs but also social infrastructure such as schools, kindergartens, hospitals and health centres for entire small and medium-sized cities. Similar problems are related to the large State farms, which, except for Poland, were the main form of organization of agricultural production.

21/ Economic Survey for Europe 1993-1994 p. 85

(iii) **Privatization**

30. Despite differences in approaching the issues of privatization, all transition economies have already started the process and some convergence of priorities, instruments and policies could be observed. 22/ Privatization efforts have been focused in three areas: "small" privatization; "big" privatization; and "reprivatization", that is, returning the property to former owners. While the first embodied small businesses such as service units, shops, restaurants and advanced fairly rapidly, mostly through local auctions, progress in the other two areas has been much slower and the problems more complex except, perhaps, claims of land. Privatization of State enterprise, land and other assets developed in different ways, and relied on some form of shares distribution, though, as in Hungary and Poland, other forms, such as transformation of State enterprises into joint ventures have also been used and it would be difficult to point out any a "mainstream" method. So far, the dismantling of large State farms - kolkhoz and sovkhoz types - seems to progress, in particular in most east European countries, far smoother than that of State enterprises. Privatization of the latter involves many obstacles, including the increasing social discomfort in most countries, and progress in transferring capital stock has been limited across the region, with the majority of State enterprises continuing to be big loss-makers.

31. The quantification of the share of the private sector has to be very approximate at best, on account of a number of biases and deficiencies in data collection, including most probably hundreds of thousands of small, non-incorporated businesses which remain unregistered for a variety of reasons (including tax evasion). The existing estimates, however, indicate clearly that the proportions between the State and private sector have been rapidly changing in all transition economies. The share of the private sector in 1992 has been estimated at around 50% of GDP in Poland; over 40% in Hungary: and around 26 and 20% in Romania, the Czech Republic and Slovakia. 23/

(c) Building market type institutions: the slow progress

32. Transition to a market economy required also, besides measures introduced by new macroeconomic policies, deep changes in institutional framework. Institutions regulating property rights, capital and labour markets, as well as those regulating social life, have to be adjusted to market conditions and market philosophy. The process of institution building, though it differed significantly by country, has generally been slow as compared with progress in other areas. This could be explained by the very nature of the process which needs time and political consensus on redefining acquired rights and benefits among social groups.

33. Narrow limits of political consensus, as in most countries, seem to be the main reason behind the slow pace of change though other factors such as the lack of knowledge and experience to prepare new laws and legislation, or the slow nature of changing values, attitudes and behaviours, also played a

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22/ For more discussion on progress in privatization see: Economic Survey for Europe 1992-1993, ECE, Geneva, New York, Sales No.E.93.II.E.1, chapter 3.

23/ Ibid.p. 215

role. This is hardly surprising. The great majority of societies in eastern Europe, CIS counties and the Baltic States, that is, State employees, in particular industrial workers and farmers, as well as welfare recipients, are, so far, the big "losers" in the market game and the number of successful entrepreneurs is small. As demonstrated by the shifts of political balance to the left in such countries as Hungary, Lithuania, Poland, Russian Federation and Slovakia the need of security is still high as compared to the value of market-inspired efficiency and its rewards.

34. The effect has been that the process of dismantling the institutional framework of the past has been much faster than that of creating new rules for many economic and social areas, including labour market legislation, taxation, banking or foreign investments. In many countries, in particular in the Russian Federation and other CIS countries, there have been a serious erosion of the existing administrative and legal system and an institutional vacuum has emerged where there is little or no regulations. This is illustrated by the large number of small businesses operating outside the tax system, as well as by violation of labour safety norms or relaxation of health inspections.

35. The gap seems to be particularly large in the area of social sector reform and creation of "safety" nets. 24/ Across-the-board pattern of distribution of benefits, compatible with the socialist ideology, has been in the process, often gradual though steady, of breaking apart through a variety of channels. Many services provided by central Government and State enterprises such as kindergartens, recreation and vocational training, have been either discontinued or have been decentralized without, however, an equivalent transfer of resources or tax-raising power. Some benefits, as pensions in most countries, declined in value owing to high inflation. The supply of other social benefits has been limited and narrowed down to the basic levels, such as recently introduced limits to State coverage for medication in Poland. At the same time, the emerging system of more targeted social safety net has been ill-prepared, financially and administratively, to tackle social problems, which are not only new to these countries but also appear at such a mass scale as unemployment or poverty. In result the solutions adopted in most countries in the area of safety net have been very partial, carried out often ex post and on an ad hoc basis.

Conclusions

36. The reasons behind the depth of the economic and social crisis in eastern and central Europe are complex and include many inherited problems such as an obsolete economic structure, the suppression of inflation and artificial job creation, and external factors such as the recession in the western world. It seems, however, that-policy design problems and the slow nature of institutional change played also a significant role in particular in explaining truly dramatic, at least in some countries, and largely unexpected deterioration in living standards and social welfare. 25/ Focus on monetary and fiscal policies and their restrictive character, including as in many countries "price overshooting" and little attention to structural reforms,

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24/ Public Policy and Social Conditions ...op. cit

25/ This is also a conclusion of a recent UNICEF study: Public Policy and Social Conditions, Regional Monitoring Report, UNICEF, No.1. November 1993

including social sector reform, resulted in huge welfare costs as demonstrated by the sharp increase in poverty rates across eastern Europe, CIS and the Baltic States. The costs of building a market economy have exceeded by far social expectations associated with systemic change and there has been mounting pressure for less painful adjustment policies.

III. THE COSTS OF TRANSITION: TAKING OVER A LARGE SHARE

37. Part III of this report attempts to evaluate women's share in the costs of transition through analysing the impact on women's social and economic situation of building market economy. The results cannot be but tentative at best, owing to general difficulties in assessing such a complex process in its dynamic with many major effects, such as unemployment, yet to come, many "non-measurable" elements, as well as more specific factors related to the lack of gender dissegregated data. Women have been adversely affected by new macroeconomic policies, privatization and slow institutional changes through: (a) unemployment and the risk of marginalization; (b) declining levels of income and the increase of poverty; (c) the dismantling of the welfare state and (d) the surge of traditional attitudes towards gender roles.

(a) Unemployment and the risk of marginalization

38. Since 1990 female unemployment rates in most countries in eastern Europe, Latvia and Lithuania showed an upward trend, except for the Czech Republic, and, except for Hungary and Slovenia, the rates were higher than men's unemployment rates (see table 2). The differences between male and female unemployment were particularly large, between 4-6 percentage points, in Croatia, Lithuania and Romania. The situation on the labour market in the Russian Federation also seems to be to women's disadvantage. In mid-1992, women there made up 78% of all the registered unemployed. 26/ It is possible that women's unemployment is underestimated as a result of reliance on employment exchange registration data and the fact that most of those not recorded are thought to be women, as proven by the ILO industrial enterprise survey in Bulgaria in 1992. 27/ It could also result from Government policies of early retirement favouring women and extended child-care leave policies. It is, for example, believed that in Hungary lower unemployment rates reflect rather relatively advantageous provisions for child-care better than in other countries job opportunities. 28/

39. The decline in manufacturing employment was faster for women than for men and the share of women in manufacturing decreased. This could be explained by

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26/ Standing, Guy, "Structural changes and the labour market crisis in eastern and central Europe", in Structural Change, employment and unemployment in the market and transition economies, Discussion Papers Vol.3: 1993, No.1, ECE, Geneva 1994.

27/ Standing, Guy "Structural Change ...op.cit

28/ Under the existing provisions Hungarian women could receive, in addition to 5-month maternity leave, 75% of her previous salary until the child is two yearsold. The child allowance is higher than unemployment benefits and the entitlement period lasts longer which encourage them to stay at home. Foti, Klara "Rising unemployment in Hungary: causes and remedies", Hungarian Academy of Science, Working paper No. 24, August 1993

severe cuts in female administrative and clerical jobs ahead of male jobs on the production line. Romania 29/ and the Russian Federation were 30/ the only exceptions among transition economies for which there are data. In Hungary, the employment share of women in industry declined from 46% in 1989 to 42% in 1993. In Poland, the share of women in manufacturing declined from 40% in 1988 to 35% in 1992. In the Czech and Slovak Republics, a similar decline took place. However, the profound reorganization of the system of industrial (and occupational) classification which took place in 1991 makes it impossible to provide a precise rate of decrease since the beginning of the transition process. 31/

40. Against the background of beliefs, as discussed earlier, that unemployment has not yet reached its momentum in all transition economies, there is concern that women might be the main "losers" on the labour market. The patterns of cuts of women's low-skilled and low-productivity jobs, in particular at clerical "employee" or "specialist" positions, industry and State administration is expected to continue with the progress in "big" privatization of State enterprises. In countries with a large share of agriculture structural changes already have and/or will have strong adverse effects on women's employment as large State farms are important employers of female workers, particularly in administration. Also, in rural processing plants, a great number of which ceased their activities, an overwhelming part of the personnel were female workers.

41. Women face increasing difficulties at entry level due to recruitment bias which, under the present market conditions, leads to their finding fewer jobs. Indications of a high degree of overt discrimination against women in recruitment have been frequent in all countries and are an important factor explaining not only higher unemployment rates for women but also the generally longer duration of female unemployment. Industrial establishment surveys, carried out by the ILO in the East-Central European region, in 1990-1993, showed a marked tendency for managers to give a more or less pronounced preference to men in recruitment, even in the previously "women-dominated"

29/ In Romania the last decade was marked mainly by an outflow of women workers from agriculture (where over 50% of them still worked at the time of the 1977 Population Census) to industry. In 1992, the share of agriculture was reduced to one-quarter for female labour, while 42% of women worked in the secondary sector and only 33% in services. The share of women in manufacturing increased from 36% in 1977 to 44% in 1992.

30/ A recent ILO survey revealed that in 1990-1991 the share of women in Russian industry slightly increased. Standing, Guy "Women's employment in Russian industry: fears of marginalization ?", paper 6, presented to the Conference on Employment and Restructuring in Russian Industry, Moscow and St. Petersburg, 21-28 October 1992. This finding seem to question the consistency of data on high levels of female unemployment in the Russian Federation.

31/ Between the end of 1989 and the end of 1991, the share of women in industry declined from 40 to 38% in the Czech Republic, and from 41 to 36% in the Slovak Republic. (Federal Statistical Office, Statistical Yearbook of Czechoslovakia, various issues, Prague)

light industrial branches. 32/ The preference was particularly marked in the case of occupations directly influencing the firm's results, namely professional and technical work and skilled manual work, whereas women were preferred for the traditionally "female" occupations, most typically for clerical work. The only exception were "feminized" industries, such as clothing, where women did get a preference as skilled manual workers and supervisors. Other surveys show similar results. Recent study of the women's labour market in Poland confirmed that both in the State and private sector there has been little interest in hiring female workers even as potential employees in professions requiring office/clerical and administrative skills. 33/

42. The vast majority of women have been little prepared to face rapidly decreasing job security, increase in competition and the necessity to look for and change jobs often. 34/ Under present conditions their work is an economic necessity. Jobs, however, become scarce and women are most often the first to be fired. Re-entering the labour force is difficult, and there is some evidence that women find it more difficult to get a new job. The work pace in the fast-growing private sector, but also in some cost-conscious State enterprises, has intensified and requires usually full commitment to the job. The effect has been the mounting pressure on adjusting the female work contract including in the past compromises on the quality of work to the market conditions. This contrasts with the increase in women's family responsibilities, in particular in the child-care area, as a result of the dismantling of the social infrastructure and the strengthening of the traditional gender contract.

43. Surveys carried out in eastern Europe indicate that there is a relatively high amount of apprehension about unemployment among women in that region motivated by women's fear of loss of income for themselves and for their families. In Bulgaria, a survey carried out by a national public opinion research institute showed that unemployment was considered by 77.7% of respondents as the most acute problem facing Bulgarian women. Unemployment was perceived as a threat, particularly by female respondents with a basic or secondary education, while it was less of a problem for respondents with a university education. An above-average share of women for whom unemployment represented a major problem, declared that they had difficulties to make ends meet. 35/

32/ As reported by Paukert, Liba, 1993: "Women's employment in East-Central European countries during the period of transition to a market economy", Working Paper, ILO, Geneva.

33/ "The Warsaw women's labour market", A final report on the enterprises survey ordered by the Centre for the Advancement of Women, PENTOR, Warsaw, June 1993.

34/ In the Czech Republic, for example, over 40% of women have changed their jobs at least once since the beginning of the reform. CSO, Labour Force Sample Survey, Autumn 1993, Prague.

35/ Nacionalen Centr za Izuchavane na Obschestvenoto Mnenie (National Centre of Public Opinion Research) 1992, Socialniat Status na Svremennata Blgarska Zhena, October 1992, Sofia, mimeographed.

(b) Declining levels of incomes and increase of poverty

44. During the last four years all countries in eastern Europe, the CIS countries and the Baltic States have experienced a sharp decline in real wages. The cumulative fall in real wages over 1990-1993 varied from 12 to 15% for Hungary and the Czech Republic to around 30% for Poland. The fall was more dramatic in other countries, in particular where the adverse effects of transition were combined with the abrupt disintegration of the former federal structures such as in Lithuania, Ukraine or Republic of Moldova and/or with ethnic conflicts such as in the former Yugoslavia and the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia. 36/

45. In all transition economies the decline in real wages has been accompanied by the rapid impoverishment of the majority of the population, particularly those living in rural areas and small towns. The surge of poverty, even taking into consideration the well-known reservations concerning data, 37/ has been extraordinary in all countries. Since 1989 the incidence of poverty (poverty line at 35-45% of the average wage) more than doubled in Hungary, Poland and Slovakia, increasing much faster in the Russian Federation. As a result the estimates of population/household living in poverty is as high as around 77% in the Russian Federation and over 50% in Bulgaria and Romania, and over 40% in Poland (see table 3).

46. Unfortunately, fragmentary and/or non-existent data do not allow for full analysis of these changes by gender. Generally lower levels of female wages, discussed earlier, strongly suggest, however, that wage losses have been especially heavy for women workers in particular in sectors and occupations where the level of wages have been already low, such as for unskilled women workers. It could also be expected that women make up a large share of those living now in poverty considering that they have been heavily represented in four major groups of "losers" in a process of market building: unemployed, State sector employees, pensioners and farmers. Recent studies analysing the impact of transition on the situation of women-headed farms confirmed that these farms had lower levels of income and lower productive resources as compared to the national average. 38/ Women have been also present among traditionally most vulnerable households such as single parent families and households with many children. In the Russian Federation, for example, of single parent households with children (under 18), 94% are headed by women, and 81% of single parent households with three or more children are

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36/ Economic Survey for Europe 1993-1994 p. 79.

37/ It has been often mentioned that an important factor distorting the image of poverty based on official statistics is that some, probably increasing parts of household incomes, mainly from the vast black economy, remain unreported. It is estimated that in Poland unreported private sector activities could add up to 20% or more to GDP and more than a third of those who collect unemployment benefits usually have private jobs. Economist, 16 April 1994.

38/ Sawicka, Janina (1993)" Transformations in economic situation of women headed farms", SGGW, Warsaw.

without father. 39/ Finally, such a conclusion could be, perhaps, "guesstimated" from the higher than average and faster growth of poverty rates of children (see table 2).

(c) Dismantling of the welfare state

47. Women took over a large share of costs of the dismantling of the welfare state and the slow process of building market-oriented social infrastructure and safety net systems. General trends in changing social coverage from a de facto or de jure universal and free, to insurance-based, as in health care, and/or to a partially commercialized system, as in child care and/or education shifted the costs from public to households. The effect has been the substantial increase in women's "caring" functions against the background of patterns of sharing family responsibilities as well the increase pressure to support family incomes through paid work.

48. The losses were, perhaps, most severe in the area of child care. Major channels of child support system which embodied family/child allowances, price subsidies and the extensive network of nurseries and kindergartens were either entirely shut-off, as elimination of subsidies through price liberalization, or have been considerably diminished. Despite the introduction of various forms of indexation of benefits, the real value of family/child benefits have been steadily decreasing, except in Poland, and in 1992 represented in Bulgaria only 10% of the value of family benefits in 1989; in Romania -40%; in the Czech Republic and Slovakia around 51-52%, and in Hungary some 78%. 40/

49. At the same time the system of kindergartens and other child-care facilities has been suffering from the tremendous pressure on public budgets and the lack of funding despite the introduction, as in most countries, of users fees. Enterprise-provided child care is becoming less frequent, reflecting financial difficulties of State enterprises and privatization. Out of 773 kindergartens run by Slovakian enterprises in 1989, only 196 remained in 1992 and in Hungary only 1% of children in relevant age group attend enterprise-run kindergartens. 41/ The enrolment into State kindergartens has declined in all countries since 1989, though to a different degree, and varies now from over 40% of children of the relevant age in Poland to over 83 and 86% in the Czech Republic and Hungary. 42/ The lack of child care facilities will create yet another barrier for young women with small children in gaining access to paid work.

(d) Surge of traditional attitudes towards gender roles

50. Since 1989 there has been a surge of traditional attitudes towards gender roles in eastern Europe, CIS countries and the Baltic States. This has been

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39/ Data by Rimachevskaya (1992) mimeo quoted by Fong, Monica S., The Role of Women in Rebuilding the Russian Economy, Studies of Economies in Transformation, The World Bank, Washington D.C. 1993. p. 22.

40/ Social Policy ... op cit.p. 64

41/ Social Policy... op.cit p. 58

42/ Social Policy ...op.cit p.60

argued on traditionalist grounds as return to women's "predestination", on demographic grounds, often as a patriotic duty to raise the declining birth rates, and finally as a choice brought to women by democracy and freedom from the "forced" labour under socialism. Fast-growing unemployment among men, social tensions, dismantling of child-care infrastructure, rapidly escalating costs of living and child care, as well women's long working day and memories of the hardship of living under the shortage economy, stimulated such attitudes among men, and some women who often idealized the role of a housewife as the norm in well-off Western societies. Also the increase of influence of fundamental wings of religions played a role in some countries. "Returning to the kitchen" trend has been reflected in low sensitivity to women's issues at policy levels, including those related to female unemployment as well the introduction of measures aimed at encouraging women to stay home.

Conclusions

51. Women in eastern Europe, CIS countries and the Baltic States have been taking over a large share of adverse effects of stabilization measures, privatization and slow pace of institution. Their situation deteriorated both in terms of "means", including income levels and their distribution, and "ends" including indicators of quality of life such as health or nourishment - most probably more than men's though the degree of hardship varied by country, social group and education levels. Building a market economy embodies thus a real danger of marginalization of women as workers and as members of society either through being pushed out of the labour force, experiencing a relative decline in their wages and social benefits and falling into poverty. Besides their own women have also taken over a large share of the distress of other family members such as increasing dependency on alcohol among unemployed men or proliferation of crime among younger generation. The effect has been that women became, perhaps, one of the most disillusioned social group by the immediate effects of the emerging market system on their position and well-being in particular as compared to their expectations.

IV. EMERGING OPPORTUNITIES: THE SMALL "WINDOW"

52. Against the background of shedding women's jobs in the industrial sector and agriculture, the main question remains whether and how fast women will be integrated into the emerging sectors. Job creation is mainly associated with the rapidly expanding private sector, including self-employment and entrepreneurship, particularly in three areas: (a) service sector; (b) small and medium enterprises; and(c) foreign direct investment.

(a) Women in the service sector

53. The service sector is expected to be the major source of new jobs in all transition economies which have to create modern trade, banking, insurance and business services typical of a market economy system. Trends in sectoral changes in most countries and the fast-growing demand for workers with skills related to the modern service sector such as accountants and highly skilled office/clerical staff, particularly pronounced in those countries which are most advanced in reforms, seem to support such expectations.

54. Women's dominant position in the service sector, combined with good levels of education, both heritage from the past, should, at least

theoretically, provide them with numerous career opportunities in the fast-growing banking sector, insurance and accounting. In the banking and insurance sector, for example, the share of female employment in total employment in this sector in 1993 in most countries for which there has been the data was above 70%, except in the Czech Republic where it was above 50% (see table 4).

55. So far, there has been little evidence that women's position in the service sector has been strengthened. In many areas of prospective rapid growth, such as trade or financial services, women's share has been rather declining. In Poland and the Czech Republic the existing data suggest that men have been steadily flowing into many branches of the service sector listed in the one-digit ISIC classification which resulted in the increase of gender mixity in these countries. In Hungary women's share in most branches of the services sector is relatively stable.

56. Between 1988 and 1992 in Poland, the employment share of women declined in trade, banking and insurance and in community and social services, increasing only in Transport and communications, where women had been under-represented. In the trade sector, male employment increased by 62%, while female employment declined by 11%, with the result that the female employment share fell from 72% in 1988 to 59% in 1992. In banking and insurance, male employment increased, between 1988 and 1992, by 80%, whereas female employment increased by only 38%. As a result, women's employment share decreased from 84 to 80%, remaining, however, still too high by Western standards (between 40 and 53%). Finally, in community and social services, male employment increased by 10%, whereas female employment remained about unchanged, and the female employment share declined. 43/

57. A similar increase of gender mixity in service activities also took place in the Czech Republic, though the lack of uninterrupted statistical series makes the change more difficult to assess. In 1990-1991, male employment and the male employment share increased in a number of formerly "women-dominated" services such as domestic trade, communications, tourist services, communal services and particularly in banking. The trend continued in 1991-1992 and women's share declined in most service activities listed under the new (NACE) classification system, namely in trade, in catering and accommodation, in public administration, in social and personal services, and particularly in banking and insurance. However, in two formerly highly "women-dominated" service branches, namely in education and in health and social care, women's employment share further increased (to 74 and 81%, respectively), while the total level of employment in these branches more or less stagnated. This was due to an outflow of men, particularly from the education sector, to private business activities offering higher salaries. Women apparently preferred the security of the public sector, as well as the often easy and relatively flexible working schedules in the two branches mentioned.

58. The lack of comparable statistics makes it impossible to quantify the amount of change in gender segregation in the Czech Republic during the last four years. A fair guess would be that horizontal segregation diminished owing to the influx of men into a wide range of formerly "women-dominated" service activities. At the same time, however, vertical segregation increased. The growth of male employment in the trade sector, in catering, in tourist

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43/ All data in this section are from national statistical offices.

services, etc. was linked to the creation of new private businesses, mostly run by and registered in the name of men, with women working as employees or unpaid family helpers. Moreover, the is evidence to show that men have been frequently recruited by banking and insurance establishments to fill higher, decision-making posts, by-passing women who had spent in the establishment a large number of years.

59. In Hungary, women have been able to take advantage of the growing demand for labour in the service sector. They were not replaced by men in most service activities, in spite of a high male unemployment rate. Data at our disposal show a remarkably constant employment share of women in broad groups of service activities, between 1989 and 1993, with a slow but steady growth in the "male-dominated" transport branch and a decline in the highly "women-dominated" banking and insurance branch, as well as in real estate and business services. 44/ As a result of the trends just mentioned, the index of dissimilarity based on the distribution of male and female employment by industry in 1992 had approximately the same relatively low value as in 1980.

60. The available data are fragmentary and cover a relatively short period which includes only the first three years of the transition process. They seem, however, to suggest that competition for female jobs in the service sector is increasing under the conditions of severe male unemployment and increasingly attractive wages and salaries in this sector. Against the process of rapid polarization of the service sector in these countries into activities which converge to the advanced country model, such as financial services, complex business services, or telecommunication, and those which remain archaic such as many family firms in the retail or food industry, 45/ there is a danger that wage and occupational segregation might occur in the service sector. As reported in Western societies, highly "feminized" sectors, when they regain a new interest from the pay and prestige point of view, the share of male labour increases, and men tend to replace women in decision-making positions. 46/ In a transition economy this process will certainly depend on the pace at which women will be learning new skills required by modern financial and business services.

(b) Small and medium enterprises

61. The expansion of the private sector in eastern Europe, CIS countries and the Baltic States has been led by small and medium-sized enterprises, mushrooming in particular in the service sector. Some offer attractive wages

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44/ CSO, Labour Force Sample Surveys, various issues, Budapest.

45/ more discussion on patterns of polarization of the service sector see: Kostecki, Maciej M. "Service Economies in eastern Europe: A Framework for Inquiry", mimeo, University of Neuchatel, May 1994.

46/ Rubery, Jill and C. Fagan, 1994: "Wage determination and sex segregation in employment in the EC", The Network of experts on the situation of women in the labour market, Equal opportunities Unit, DGV, European Commission.

and salaries associated, however, with highly demanding work schedule. These developments also create chances for self-employment as entrepreneurs. 47/

62. Women's share in employment in the private sector has been on the rise, though it is generally lower that than of men. In 1993, in Hungary, which is one of the most "advanced " reformers, 29.6% of men worked in the private sector compared to 21.7% of women. 48/ A similar pattern of gender differences exist in the area of self-employment and entrepreneurship as discussed in detail in the paper on employment and earnings. The survey commissioned by the ILO in the Czech and Slovak Republics, in 1991/92, showed that women somehow tended to have greater reluctance in launching a business, to become self-employed, or more generally to leave the declining public sector, which for four decades had been the main, if not the only, income provider. 49/ Though certainly there is also evidence to the contrary. Recent surveys conducted in Poland suggest that there are a number of successful women entrepreneurs in the Polish private sector and that they do not face any particular gender bias in business, although they face serious obstacles which are common for women and men in the emerging market economies structures. 50/

63. Small and medium enterprises face a number of well-known constraints, such as access to credit and financing, lack of market oriented skills and knowledge, lack of supportive business infrastructure. Modern entrepreneurship has gone far from Schumpeterian creative individual and is now more of a team effort supported by adequate infrastructure at national level aimed at initiating the process and assist in its development. 51/ All these obstacles certainly apply to women's and men's entrepreneurial efforts in all transition economies.

64. Women looking for jobs in the private sector as employees also face a number of constraints. A strong recruitment bias exist in particular for older women while younger ones are hired to "improve" the social climate in many small private enterprises. Difficulties at entry level are often explained by prospective employers in terms of lower availability of women workers to work longer hours, perception of women as "expensive" workers due to associated

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47/ "Small and medium enterprises in the ECE region", ECE, TRADE/R.586, 26 November 1992.

48/ Refers to the shares in "full-private sector". Hungarian Statistical Office, Budapest, 1994.

49/ PORI, 1991/92, Zamestnanost Zen: Zaverecna zprava z vyzkumu, Public Opinion Research Institute, Prague.

50/ As reported in some surveys in Poland. Regut Anna "Polish Women in Private Sector", Polish Chamber of Commerce, Warsaw 1994 and Gwiazda Ewa, 1994 " Wlascicielki malych przedsiebiorstw", Osrodek Informacji i Dokumentacji Rady Europe, (Information and Documentation Centre of Council of Europe at Warsaw University), Warsaw.

51/ For more discussion on obstacles to entrepreneurship in transition economies see: World Economic Survey 1992, E/1992/40; ST/ESA/231, United Nations, New York. Chapter VII Entrepreneurship and the development challenges of the 1990s.

social benefits as well as the lack of technical skills. 52/ Finally, low mobility of labour force in all transition economies, a legacy of the past, limit access of women to many private sector jobs as those are unevenly distributed across regions within individual countries with high levels of concentration around large urban areas.

(c) Women and foreign direct investments

65. Foreign capital which has been flowing in to many transition economies since 1989 created new jobs and career paths offering very attractive remunerations. The number of jobs is, however, very limited as the size of capital flows has been much lower than expected. The capital flows and related jobs are also heavily concentrated in selected countries of the region. The size of total flows of private foreign direct investments (FDI) into all transition economies has been estimated at 5 billion US dollars in 1993, about the size of flows to Mexico, and the existing capital stock was at the level of the FDI stock in Thailand. 53/

66. This job market segment is very competitive, skill requirements are very high and include knowledge of foreign languages. Though there has been, perhaps, less gender bias in recruitment, there is a strong age bias. Foreign companies rarely hire workers above 35 years old and there has been a strong preference for recruitment in the 20-25 year-old group, which is explained by considerable investment in training of new workers. The expected increase in capital flows to most transition economies could, depending on their economic performance, progress in reforms and political stability, however, expand career options for younger generations of well-educated women in the future.

Main conclusions:

67. The emerging market system offers new opportunities for men and women. Most important female assets seem to be good education and a complex of skills and knowledge, such as networking, flexibility, finding solutions at all costs and non-standard thinking, many acquired whilst managing household resources under the conditions of the shortage economy. These assets could serve as a good start into the private sector jobs and activities but are not sufficient to compete for jobs under the new market rules. Under conditions of fast-changing returns to education and occupational position in all transition economies, acquisition of new skills and knowledge, as well as access to resources, is essential in order to build careers in private sector. Against the background of more demanding work pace provision of child/ family infrastructure, supported by the State, through local communities, and, perhaps also by the private sector, accompanied by radical changes in the traditional gender contract, conditions must be found to secure equal chances for women in finding their place in a new competitive environment.

V. KEY AREAS OF GENDER CONCERN

68. Though evidence is still scarce due to the lack of gender dissegregated data and general difficulties in assessing properly the process of rapid

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52/ The Warsaw's women labour market, PENTOR,...op cit

53/ World Investment Report 1994, DTCI, UNCTAD, p.7 forthcoming.

changes in eastern Europe, CIS countries and the Baltic States there is a growing evidence that women will be the hardest hit social group and at the same time the most under-used human resource in the process of transition. Establishing clear direction for action at policy levels is crucial in order to avoid pushing women into the rank of "secondary" workers and citizens. This is in the best interest of men and women in all societies in transition economies as women represent a significant potential to become a leading element in the reform process. Key areas of gender concern include: (a) participation in and impact on establishing new rules of the game; (b) access to education and productive resources; and (c) gender focus of foreign assistance.

(a) Participation in and impact on establishing new rules of the game

69. Women in eastern Europe, CIS countries and the Baltic States are in most cases the majority of the labour force and of the voting population. This contrasts with little interest in gender perspective on the transition process at policy levels. There is little information and data to monitor women's situation under the rapidly changing economic and social conditions. Gender data are incomplete, fragmentary, not available across countries and usually not gathered with female perspective in mind. Consequently there is no comprehensive analysis of the impact of changes on women's position nor the related economic and social consequences. Women's participation in institution building has been negligible in all countries despite the fact that some women hold or have held high level positions in Governments, such as in Lithuania or Poland. The absence of grass-roots movements in these countries, lack of tradition in political activities, 54/ and conservative values and attitudes, strengthened in some countries by the strong influence of religion, cannot neither justify nor change the fact that women's views on major problems of transition have been absent at policy levels in all countries.

70. The lack of recognition of and concern for "women's issues" in the process of transition has serious negative consequences not only for women's position but also for the society at large now and at the longer run. As discussed in the paper on women's role in the economy within the ECE region, the costs of growth in societies where women are not equal partners to men are higher and modern growth strategy has to be gender sensitive in order to achieve sustainable development. Against the background of relatively small windows of opportunity and diverging and often conflicting interests of numerous social groups competing for the shrinking State resources and adequate provisions in the new rules and regulations, proper representation of women in collective negotiations is vital for women and for the process of building a new market society.

Directions for Action

- Recognize and enhance the gender perspective at all policy levels and across all aspects of the process of market building;

54/ It is, however, sometimes mentioned that women's movements in countries with strong opposition movements (such as Solidarity in Poland), are in a slightly better position in this respect.

- Support the capacity-building process through establishing proper representation of women's interests and concerns in a system of collective negotiations;

- Develop and improve the system of data collection by gender in order to monitor changes in women's living standards and position on the labour market;

- Eliminate traditional views on gender role and promote the image of women as active partners of men in the transition process.

(b) Access to education and productive resources

71. Women's role in the new market environment will be determined to a large extent by their access to education and productive resources. In order to face the increased competition on the labour market and explore new job opportunities, women have to adapt their knowledge and skills to the market profile. Considering the role of the service sector and women's position, special attention should be given to training programmes enabling women to develop new skills required by the modern service sector in the area of administration, management, accounting and finance. Two skills seem also of particular importance: these are, familiarity with computer and modern office equipment, and foreign languages proficiency. In some countries, where education systems provided in the past already included some information on market economy, as in Hungary or Poland, this task should be relatively easier than elsewhere. Also, women's access to land, capital and technology is crucial for establishing partnership position under market rules.

Directions for Action

- Develop special trai-ing programmes for women, developing their skills and giving them the knowledge required by the emerging modern service sector;

- Enhance more technically oriented education choices of girls and young women;

- Ensure adequate access of women to all forms of education, in particular to vocational training and in-house training;

- Consider establishing special incentives for small enterprises in investing in workers' education, giving, perhaps, some preferential treatment to women workers, particularly to those re-entering the labour force.

- Ensure women equal access to land, capital and new technologies, and include them in the process of privatization of State assets.

(c) Social safety net

72. Establishing an effective social safety net with a gender perspective should be one of main priorities of social policies in all transition economies. Addressing women's concerns is crucial for the reform process against the background of rapid increase in poverty and very slow process of building social institutions, proceeding often on an ad hoc basis and under the pressure of social groups with the strongest political leverage. Adverse impact on women has large "spill-over" onto other population groups dependent on women's caretaker tasks. Proper evaluation of options in creating a new

system of social safety net (targeting against maintaining some across-the-board benefits) from women's point of view is necessary. Though some western experience might provide insights, social safety nets have to be based on national preferences as to the level of solidarity and available resources.

73. Giving a "human face" to the transition process is now a key factor determining levels of social support to the process of building market economy in all transition economies. It is also necessary to make full use of human potential, a large part of which is that of women. Problems which need most urgent attention of policy makers include: unemployment; protection of retired population; protection of family benefits and related infrastructure; maternal and child care. Groups of women who are most likely to be most vulnerable during the process of market building include: pensioners; single mothers; unskilled urban workers; rural women, especially in isolated areas; ethnic minorities and women living in areas of military conflicts.

Directions for Action

- Establish a system of identification of the most vulnerable groups of women and patterns of inflows and outflows within these groups;

- Ensure women's participation in the decision-making process on reforming the existing system of social safety net;

- Ensure adequate protection of women who are unemployed, particularly of those with a low level of skills;

- Stop the deterioration of State-run child care infrastructure, including nurseries and kindergartens;

- Arrest the decline in the deterioration of health infrastructure in the area of maternal and child care.

VI. FOREIGN ASSISTANCE: THE NEED FOR A GENDER FOCUS

74. So far, foreign assistance delivered to eastern Europe, CIS, and the Baltic States had little gender focus. This could, perhaps, be explained by the relatively low priority attributed by the recipient Governments to this area. Some potential areas where gender specific programmes could be developed include: data collection and monitoring system; training; establishing non-governmental organization networks.

Directions for Action

- Reevaluate priorities for foreign assistance at the national level;

- Ensure that gender perspective is included in programmes which have been already launched in the area of education and training; assistance to small and medium enterprises; or support for agriculture and rural areas.

Table 1. Changes in employment structure by sector, 1990-1992
(per cent)

Country	Total	Agriculture	Industry	Services
Bulgaria	-28.7	-31.2	-37.1	-16.8
Czech Republic	-8.8	-29.5	-14.2	2.7
Hungary	-12.1	-34.3	-17.7	-0.5
Poland	-12.6	-13.3	-20.4	-5.7
Romania	-4.5	12.9	-21.4	5.8
Slovakia	-13.5	-27.5	-22.6	1.8
Russian Federation	-4.2	-3.7	-6.9	-1.7

Source: National statistics and ECE data base.

Note: Agriculture includes forestry. Industry includes construction. Services was obtained as residual.

Table 2. Unemployment rates by sex in selected transition countries, 1990-1992
(per cent)

Country/Unemployment rates		1990	1991	1992
Bulgaria	Total	1.7	11.1	16.4
	Male	..	..	13.7
	Female	..	..	14.5
Croatia	Total	8	14	15
	Male	6	11	12
	Female	11	16	18
Czechoslovakia	Total	1.0	6.9	5.1
(former)	Male	0.9	5.9	4.7
	Female	1.0	7.3	5.4
Hungary	Total	1.7	8.5	12.3
	Male	1.8	9.2	14.0
	Female	1.4	7.6	10.5
Latvia	Total	..	..	2.1
	Male	..	..	0.9
	Female	..	..	1.2
Lithuania	Total	..	4.7	20.7
	Male	..	1.6	8.3
	Female	..	3.1	12.4
Poland	Total	3.5	9.7	13.3
	Male	3.2	7.9	11.8
	Female	3.8	11.4	14.9
Romania	Total	..	3.2	8.4
	Male	..	2.2	6.2
	Female	..	4.0	10.7
Slovenia	Total	4.7	8.2	11.5
	Male	4.5	8.5	12.1
	Female	4.8	7.9	10.8

Source: ILO Yearbook of Labour Statistics 1993, Table 9A.

Table 3. Share of population and children living in poverty
(per cent)

	Social group	1989	1990	1991	1992
Bulgaria a/	Population	..	..	..	53.6
Czech Republic b/	Population	5.7	7.7	19.4	18.2
Hungary a/	Population Children	10.1 14.1	.. ..	21.3 29.1	.. ..
Poland a/	Population Children	20.5 28.0	39.7 53.4	38.8 54.7	42.5 57.6
Romania a/	Households Children	27.3 38.1	18.5 30.7	28.1 42.1	51.1 70.1
Russian Federation c/	Population	27.1	24.5	28.7	77.1 d/
Slovakia e/	Households Children	8.5 10.9	8.9 11.2	28.2 35.6	30.2 41.3
Ukraine c/	Households	33.6	..	21.1	35.7 f/

Source: Adapted from "Public Policy and Social Conditions, Regional Monitoring Report", No 1., November 1993, UNICEF, p.8.

a/ 45% of 1989 average wage.
b/ 35% of 1989 average wage.
c/ 118 Rb poverty line.
d/ 1992 Q4.
e/ 40% of 1989 average wage.
f/ The poverty rates appear artificially low due to the likely underestimation of the increase in the retail price index.

Table 4. Share of women in banking and insurance industry in selected transition countries, 1993
(per cent)

Country	Women's share
Azerbaijan a/	48.80
Belarus a/	88.10
Czech Republic	68.58
Georgia a/	75.50
Hungary b/	74.38
Kazakhstan a/	85.30
Poland	75.00
Romania	79.38
Russian Federation a/	90.20
Slovakia	79.40
Ukraine a/	88.80
Uzbekistan a/	61.10

Source: National statistics; Statistical Committee of the CIS

a/ 1990
b/ Financial intermediaries.